THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXI *July 1947* NUMBER 3

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VOLUME XXXI *July 1947* NUMBER 3

Published by the Society and Issued to Members

Price 50 cents $2.00 per year

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NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXI JULY 1947 NUMBER 3

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE
FOR STATEMENTS IN SIGNED ARTICLES

On May 15, 1856, Garfield, then 24 years of age, wrote from Williams College to his friend Corydon E. Fuller: "I am having my likeness lithographed, and when I get them I will send you one." The reproduction above is from Fuller's *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati, 1887), opp. p. 235.

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY
July 1947
VOLUME XXXI NUMBER THREE
New York: 170 Central Park West

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JAMES A. GARFIELD

WRITTEN WHILE A STUDENT AT WILLIAMS COLLEGE

By ARTHUR H. MERRITT

TWO unpublished letters of James A. Garfield to the Reverend Amos Sutton Hayden, head of Western Reserve Eclectic Institute at Hiram, Ohio, afford an interesting glimpse of the future President while a student at Williams College and of the times in which he lived. Written in 1854 and 1855, they have been preserved in the family of the recipient, whose grandson, Dr. W. Howard Hayden of Youngstown, Ohio, now makes them available for publication for the first time.*

Garfield had entered Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (now Hiram College) in 1851, at the age of twenty, after two years of classical study at Geauga Academy, Chester, Ohio. During his residence at Hiram, he lived with the principal of the Institute,

* Photostatic copies of these letters have been presented to the Society by the author, who obtained them through the kindness of Dr. W. Howard Hayden.

the Reverend Amos Sutton Hayden, a man much beloved by all who knew him. Garfield, on whom he made a lasting impression, refers to him in one of the letters as "my Dear Brother" and as having been "so much a father to me."

Eclectic Institute was a sectarian school of the Campbellite order, later known as the Disciples' Church, which Garfield had joined early in life and adhered to till his death. Deeply religious by nature, as these letters testify, Garfield often preached, according to the custom of that denomination, both during and after his student days in Hiram and Williamstown, though he was never formally ordained to the ministry. It was natural, therefore, that when he came to consider what college to attend after graduation from the Institute, his affections should incline him toward Bethany College, the intellectual capital of the Disciples, where Alexander Campbell, the founder of the order, himself held sway. But a pilgrimage thither to size up the situation filled him with disillusionment:

> The place is very romantic [*he wrote his friend, Corydon E. Fuller, July 19, 1853*], but I was very much disappointed in the talent. I listened [to the commencement exercises] with profound attention for from the trappings and preparation I expected that Mount Olympus would be shaken to its roots and the cold fountain of Parnassus would boil. But the sun sank to his western home and the hills even of Bethany stood unmoved, and I fancy that not even the bald head of the Eclectic bowed at the sound. Suffice it to say, that a good, thorough, determined Northern boy of "*mens sana, in sano corpore*," can go there and lead them through the course.

A year later Garfield was still debating whether to "go to Bethany and finish in one year," or "go to an Eastern college [where] it will take me two years to finish the course, and at . . . extremely high rates of expenses. . . ." But an event of national importance then occurred which made his decision inevitable. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in the spring of 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise and opening the territories to slavery, stirred Garfield's partisan spirit to its depths. Bethany College, which had been organized by Campbell in 1840 in what

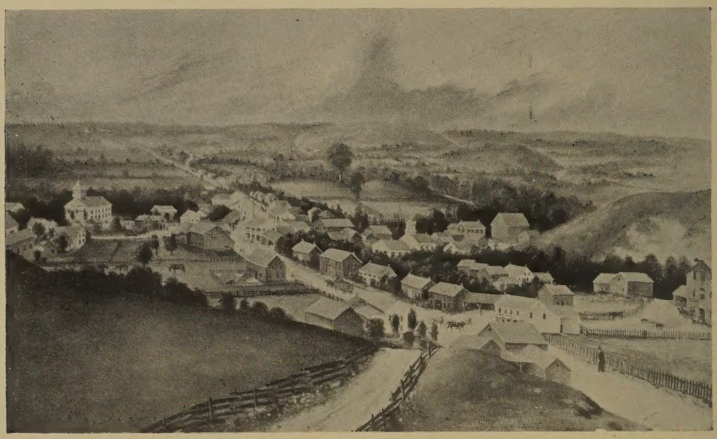
was later to become West Virginia, followed the strongly pro-slavery sentiments of its founder:

> It was well known [*wrote Garfield's schoolmate correspondent, Corydon Fuller*] that no discussion was allowed upon the subject of slavery; perhaps it would be more accurate to say that no word must be spoken in criticism of the barbarous institution; those who cared to defend it could speak freely. . . . it was not possible for James A. Garfield to spend a year at Bethany, and surrender the right of free speech at the command of the insolent sons of slaveholders. . . .

It was this situation which produced the "Bethany affair," referred to in the second of Garfield's letters transcribed below, when "our northern boys stood up on their manhood, and left." And so it was that in the summer of 1854 Garfield entered the junior class at Williams College, from which institution he was graduated with high honors two years later.

His first letter to "Bro Hayden," written a few days after his matriculation, describes his journey thither and his first impressions of the College. One learns that conditions have changed since he set pen to paper nearly a hundred years ago. For one thing, the cost of living is not what it was in 1854 as noted by Garfield's complaint at having to pay $3.00 a week for board and room. However, he is encouraged by the belief that arrangements can be made later "by which they will be much less." Interesting also are his observations on his visit to New York where he tells of having seen a boa constrictor twenty-eight feet long; of his meditations in Greenwood Cemetery; and of the "looseness of Jersey society."

During the ensuing year and a half Garfield not only forged well toward the head of his class, but made excursions into the surrounding territory to preach and to teach. "I expect to spend the [two-month 1854–55 winter] vacation teaching penmanship," he wrote. After teaching a session at Pownal, Vt., he "started a class in Poestenkill, Rensselaer Co., N. Y., where our brother [M. J.] Streator is located among a little congregation of Disciples." His Poestenkill school occupied the second floor of



Courtesy N. Y. State Hist. Assoc.

POESTENKILL, N. Y., AS GARFIELD KNEW IT

Painted by Joseph H. Hidley, 1862

[Blewer Tavern (Union Hall), where Garfield held his penmanship school, is the white building (foreground) which a man approaches along the fence.]

Blewer Tavern (Union Hall) which stands to this day, though we must go to the townscapes of Joseph H. Hidley, the village artist, to appreciate what Poestenkill was like in Garfield's time.

Garfield had intended an immediate return to Williams after closing his school, but "Bro. Streator commenced a series of meetings," and induced him to remain a fortnight longer.

. . . During my stay [*Garfield wrote Fuller on February 15, 1855, the day after his return to college*] I spoke fifteen discourses, and visited with all the brethren in the neighborhood. There were several immersions, and I think much good done. Nothing else could have kept me away from college. . . . Since the last term I have earned eighty dollars—cleared sixty-five. . . .

The earnest student made several other preaching trips to Poestenkill—twenty-one miles distant from Williamstown—during the year, and the day before Thanksgiving, which he spent with friends in Troy, he announced his intention of visiting "Bro Streator" again. Afterwards he wrote: "During the first two weeks of the vacation, I was sick with the bilious fever, but I was among very dear friends in Poestenkill, and was very kindly

treated." It was on Christmas Day of that vacation that Garfield wrote the second letter here printed for the first time.

Now a seasoned student, his comments regarding Dr. Mark Hopkins, then president of Williams College, are of especial interest: "a real sky-clearer," Garfield calls him—"a cloud-compelling Jupiter" who "leaves a track of sunlight wherever he goes." High praise this, but confirmed by later historians who refer to Hopkins as "undoubtedly one of the greatest American educators of his day." Perhaps there is truth after all in Garfield's variously quoted definition of a college as a log with Mark Hopkins on one end and a student on the other.

Following graduation, Garfield returned to Hiram (despite "an offer here in Troy, much better pecuniarily considered"), where he taught Latin and Greek in the Eclectic Institute. The following year, 1857, he succeeded the Reverend Amos Sutton Hayden as principal. Though he became successively Ohio State senator, Lieutenant Colonel (later, Major General) in the Civil War, representative (later, senator) in Congress, and finally President of the United States, he never lost interest in the Institute to which he refers as "Dear Eclectic," saying that "Her interests have almost become a part of myself."

In Garfield's tragic death at the age of forty-nine there was lost to the nation, as revealed in the following letters, a rare and radiant spirit.

Williams College, July 17th 1854.

My Dear Bro. Hayden:—

In writing to you and Sister Hayden I feel as if I were addressing *parents*, rather than mere *friends*, and *assuming* that a history of my pilgrimage will be acceptable to you I will give it briefly.

After visiting [at Solon, Ohio] with my mother and friends a few days I started on Thursday morning, June 29th. Took a boat for Buffalo that evening and the next morning arrived there. By request of a man in Solon I went via Niagara Falls, to see a brother of his, and staid twenty four hours, viewing the watery wonders of the stunning cataract. The next morning I left for the east, and that evening stopped at Bro. Craw's[1] in Butler. I had a very fine visit with them, and spoke to the brethren the

[1] E. L. Craw, son of Morris Craw of South Butler, N. Y., and a former student at Hiram College.

next day in the forenoon. They have a flourishing congregation. In the afternoon I heard the Rev. Antoinette Brown preach to the congregation under her charge.

She is a speaker of some power, but seems to me to have built a reputation more upon the *novelty* of her *course*, than the *power* of her *mind*.

I found that my energies were considerably relaxed, and concluded to spend a few days in recruiting before commencing the work of study. Not wishing to travel on the fourth, on account of the crowded and reckless excursions of that day, I staid in Butler till Wednesday (5th) when with Corydon[2] whom I found there, I took the cars again and arrived in Albany that evening. Finding a great competition between the different lines of Steamers by which the fare to N. Y. was only fifty cents, I concluded to go there. Taking a boat[3] that evening I enjoyed the scene of a golden sunset on the noble Hudson. It is certainly all that travellers have described it to be, the "Rhine of America," but doubtless you have seen its castle-crowned heights and towering palisades. The next morning we were in the City and spent the day in visiting the Crystal Palace, Barnums Museum of Natural Curiosities, lately increased by a huge Boa Constrictor, 28 feet long, and some other Ethiopain [*sic*] terrors. We also visited the Tribune Press[4] which turns off 10,000 sheets per hour, and also the Harper's office.

The next day we visited Greenwood Cemetery on Long Island. Did you ever visit it? It possessed more of interest, and was more satisfying to me than all New York City. We lingered for several hours among the graves of Poets, Orators, Statesmen and Warriors, and also those of humbler name. The road leading around it is several miles in length—and a more beautiful and appropriate place for the last resting place of the dead could not be chosen. In the afternoon I went across to the Jersey shore and went to Schraalenburgh where Corydon is teaching, and remained with him till Monday 10th. There are the old haunts of Washington and his little army. The country looks old, and many of its buildings have stood a hundred years. On Sunday I listened to the Dutch Reformed (!) minister, who with a long-drawn countenance and a longer sermon fed his flock with the wholesome doctrine of "*Original Sin*" and "Unconditional Election." He does not think the Lord's *Sabbath* should be used in speaking against the evils of Intemperance. He says "It would not do to speak of it here for most of the brethren use intoxicating drinks." I have no patience with that sort of priestly Bread-and-Butter-ism.

[2] Corydon E. Fuller, who had been a fellow student at the Eclectic Institute, later became president of the Iowa Loan and Trust Company, and published *Reminiscences of James A. Garfield* in 1887.

[3] The *Hendrick Hudson*, "long known as the finest boat on the river," according to Corydon Fuller, who made the trip with him. (*Reminiscences*, p. 118.)

[4] Where "we had the good fortune to see Mr. Greeley. I am not so sure *he* saw *us*." (Fuller, *Reminiscences*, p. 119.)

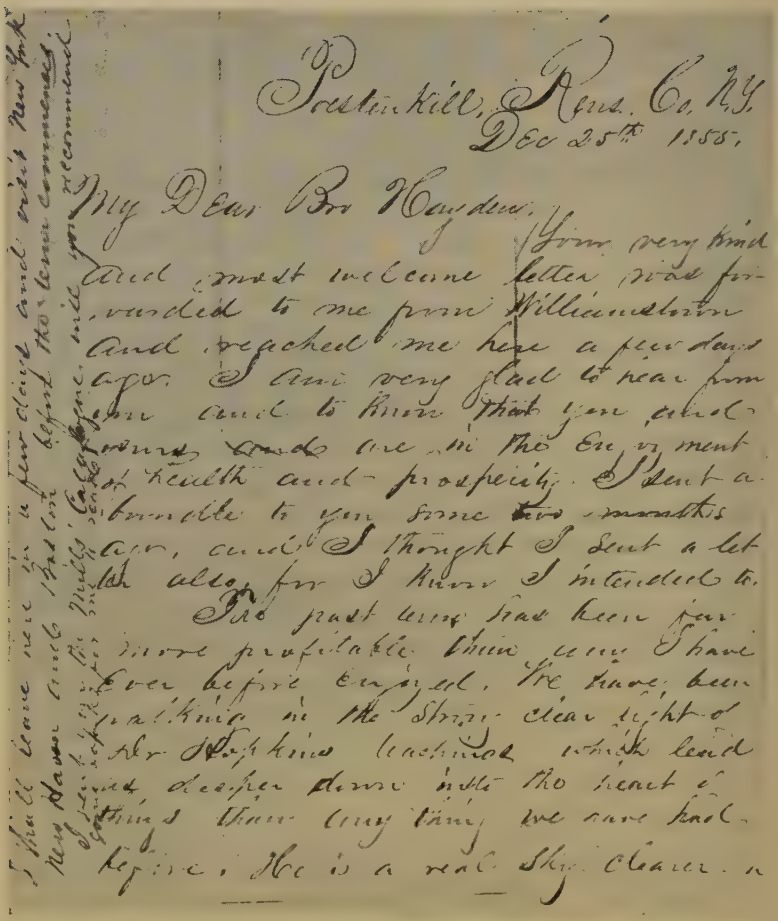
I rambled over the hills and visited enough to learn something of the looseness of Jersey society, and on Monday went back to N. Y., and that evening took a boat for Troy where I found myself "safely moored" next morning when I awoke. My trunks which I had checked through to that place ten days before, I found safe, and at 7½ o'clock I was in the cars. By cars and stage I arrived at Williamstown [Mass.] that afternoon. I went immediately to the house of the President [Mark Hopkins], was sent by him to the different Professors and in three hours from the time I arrived, I had passed examinations in Mathematics, Latin and Greek, and allowed to enter the coming Junior year. In mathematics, I must however bring up *Mensuration* and Conic Sections. I very much regret that I came so soon. I could just as well have entered the Junior Class next Sept. as now, and thus have save[d] a considerable expense. But the *Time* will not be lost. It is rather an unfavorable time to come here now, just in *bustle* of their examination. It was quite difficult to obtain room and boarding and at this time they are very high for there is a great demand during examination and Commencement for board for visitors. But by being here I shall be enabled to get a good situation for the coming year. My expenses till August 17th will be $3.00 per week. Then I can make arrangements by which they will be much less.

This place is beautifully situated in the lap of the Green Mountains, and surrounded on all side[s] by towering peaks that prop the sky with their pine-clad heads, wreathed with majestic clouds. We can see mountains both in Vermont and New York, for it is but a few miles to either line.

I have as yet become but little acquainted with the Institution [Williams College], but as far as I have yet discovered its policy and course of instruction, I am much pleased. Its last two years seem to be especially popular, and I am told, are not surpassed, if equalled by any College in America. A good evidence of this, is the fact that many students come from "Old Harvard" and the other Eastern Institutions to finish the last two years. So you see what classmates I will have. The President himself has the entire charge of the Senior class. He seems to be universally admired and beloved. I heard him deliver a fine sermon yesterday. I am sorry to learn that he does not preach but a quarter of the time, for the regular minister seems to be rather dry.

I must confess I am somewhat lonely, but that will be different when I get really into the work of study. I feel that in leaving your family I have left a kind and indulgent home, and many dear friends such as are not to be met every day nor every year. I shall ever be grateful to you and Aunt Sarah for your many kindnesses to me. I know your time is much occupied, but you *do not know* how gratefully an occasional letter from you would be received. The prosperity of our "Dear Eclectic" lies very near my heart. Her interests have almost become a part of myself. I shall be very anxious to hear of her advancement and success.

Remember me in much love to your family, and all those who may



Poestenkill, Rens. Co. N.Y.
Dec 25th 1855.

My Dear Bro Hayden.

Your very kind and most welcome letter was forwarded to me from Williamstown and reached me here a few days ago. I am very glad to hear from you and to know that you and yours and the Church are in the enjoyment of health and prosperity. I sent a bundle to you some two months ago, and I thought I sent a letter also for I know I intended to.

The past year has been far more profitable than any I have ever before enjoyed. We have been walking in the strong clear light of the Gospel teachings which lead our minds deeper down into the heart of things than any thing we have had before. He is a real Shepherd. He

JAMES A. GARFIELD TO REV. AMOS SUTTON HAYDEN

From Poestenkill, N. Y., Dec. 25, 1855

The first of four photostat pages

Gift of Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S., 1947

care to enquire for my welfare. Dear Brother, I ask an interest in your prayers to Our Heavenly Father that he may keep *me* in his love till the Great Day of Jesus Christ. Please advise, admonish and reprove, with freedom, your brother in Christ,

JAMES.

[P.S.] The road Supervisor never *warned* me to work on the road himself but sent his boy. I do not know whether I am legally bound to do it or not. If you think I ought to, please pay him and charge to my account.

JAMES.

[P.P.S.] Direct [letters] to Williamstown Mass. Will the Harbinger[5] be sent to me on the same terms as it comes there in the Hiram Club. I have not received the July No. I forget the price of the Christian Age. I want that also. I wish you would tell Mr. Young to forward any letters that may come into that office for me.

JAMES.

Poestenkill, Rens. Co. N.Y.
Dec. 25th 1855,

My Dear Bro Hayden,

Your very kind and most welcome letter was forwarded to me from Williamstown and reached me here a few days ago. I am very glad to hear from you and to know that you and yours are in the enjoyment of health and prosperity. I sent a bundle to you some two months ago and I thought I sent a letter also, for I know I intended to.

The past term has been far more profitable than any I have ever before enjoyed. We have been walking in the strong clear light of Dr. Hopkins teachings which lead us deeper down into the heart of things than anything we have had before. He is a real sky-clearer, a cloud-compelling Jupiter—and leaves a track of sunlight wherever he goes. I am trying to keep a full record of his lectures and conversations. His chief power is in the region of metaphysics—but his soul is full of poetry and all his thoughts come out sparkling like diamonds.

I have heard with deep regret of the Bethany affair[6]—but regret not that our northern boys stood up on their manhood, and left, but that such a spirit should be fostered by the Faculty in part or in whole as has been displayed in that transaction. I think they have showed their true colors, and while that flag floats I am sure no noble northern man will

[5] The *Millennial Harbinger* (1830–65), chief organ of the Disciples of Christ, edited and published by its founder, Alexander Campbell, at Bethany, Va. (now W. Va.)

[6] See p. 131 of this article.

compromise his manhood enough to go there. I have felt, for a long time, that a separation day must come between elements so radically opposite and perhaps it has finally come. It seems to me a truism which all will now acknowledge that the North must educate Northern minds. It does seem to me, that if ever a good stout mark can ever me [*sic for* be] made for Hiram, *now is the time.* I believe that unless the Eclectic improves this opportunity, something else will arise and attempt it, and we have too many *attempts* already.

My interest in the success of the Eclectic is as great as ever and I [am] much gratified to hear from various sources that it was never doing more than at the present time. With regard to myself, I want to, and will do what you and the brethren convince me is duty.

Surely nothing could be more pleasant to me than to teach again in that dear old place. Some one has said, "It is not disgraceful to be poor, but its very unhandy." Certain it is, that I ought to make all the money I can, consistent with doing the most good I can. I have had an offer here in Troy, much better pecuniarily considered, than I could do in Hiram.[7] But I love the West and the Eclectic, and unless the difference be too great I cannot feel at liberty to stay here. I am anxious to see how the Bethany Sachems will demean themselves before the Brotherhood in reference to that matter.

I tell you, Bro. Sutton, it seems to me that such a school as Hiram ought to charge higher tuition and get more pay for the benefit it bestows. If the school received half the pay the boarding houses do I think it would be nearer just.

I am very grateful, my dear Brother, for the kind offers you made me. You have always been so much a father to me in all my necessities. I have not yet made any draw upon my uncle, though I made the arrangements to do so before I left and I presume it will be all right when I do send. I have saved the last sixty cents of two thousand dollars, earned since six and a half years ago! ! I hope to get through not more than $350 or $400 in debt. I was very glad to hear from you and I want very much to hear from you again and often. Remember me affectionately to my Aunt Sarah, the children and accept the best of love of

JAMES.

[P.S.] I shall leave here in a few days and visit New York, New Haven and Boston before the term commences. I sent you the Mills' Catalogue. will you recommend some books for me to read?

[7] Garfield to Fuller, Feb. 11, 1856: "I have had an offer of $1000 per year to take charge of the city schools in Troy, N. Y., but I have refused because it would take me from my studies next March." Although Hayden could offer him only $600 for the year's teaching at Hiram, he accepted and began his duties there, after graduation, at the end of the summer of 1856. (Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield,* I, 104, 107, 110.)

DOM. REX *VS.* ROGER BAKER

by Elizabeth Marting

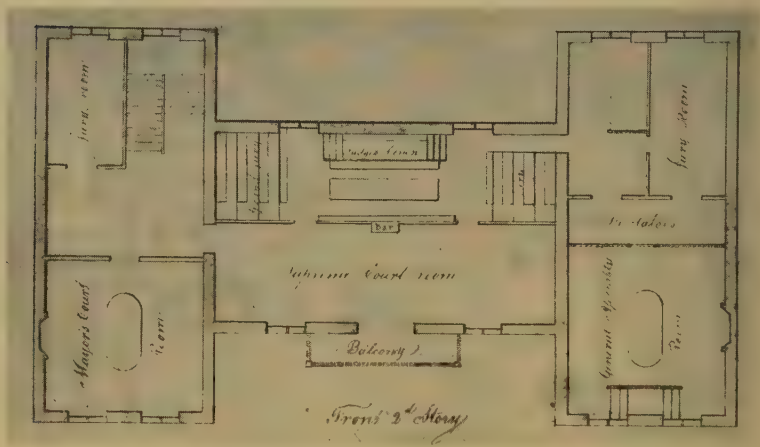
CHIEF among the stories told in the early minutes of New York's Supreme Court[1] is that of the notorious Bayard-Hutchins trial. We all know how Nicholas Bayard and John Hutchins were found guilty of high treason and ruthlessly sentenced to death in the spring of 1702—altogether a most disgraceful piece of work. Yet another affair that followed close on its heels—less important, certainly, and even a little ridiculous—shows as clearly the depths to which "justice" can descend when those who dispense it are wholly unworthy of their trust.

William Atwood, Chief Justice of the Province of New York, had been sent out from London in 1701 as the answer to Governor Bellomont's pleas for a trained and experienced lawyer to head his judiciary system. To be sure, Atwood was a product of Cambridge, Inner Temple, and Gray's Inn, but a worse choice can hardly be imagined. Ambitious, domineering, quarrelsome, vindictive, he regarded all who opposed him as his personal enemies and traitors into the bargain. These opponents, naturally, were the Anti-Leislerians, since Atwood, far from displaying the impartiality expected of a judge, had allied himself with the party of the late lamented Jacob Leisler. Indeed, the Anti-Leislerians were so unhappy under Bellomont, now deceased, that on the appointment of Lord Cornbury to succeed him they rashly drew up petitions to His Majesty, Parliament, and the Governor-to-be in which they expressed an earnest hope that conditions in the Province would soon be vastly improved. John Hutchins, keeper of the tavern where the three petitions were signed, was arrested for refusing to turn them over to Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan and the Council; Colonel Bayard, a prominent New York citizen and Hutchins' principal champion, was himself thrown into

[1] Minutes of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1692 and 1701–1704, shortly to be published by the Society as the 76th volume of the *Collections*.

prison, and within an incredibly short time the two were fighting for their lives before the Chief Justice.

Atwood called a special court of oyer and terminer to "try" his victims—in reality, nothing more than a special session of his own Supreme Court. The trial opened on February 19, 1701/2, and extended through March. Atwood barred certain lawyers from the court room, forbade the taking of notes, and defined treason to suit himself; he also was forced to replace Attorney-General Sampson Shelton Broughton, who declined to prosecute the case, with a specially appointed solicitor-general, yet on March 16th he was able to condemn Colonel Bayard and on April 6th read the death sentence to Hutchins. They were later to be unconditionally pardoned by Queen Anne, but how was he to know that? On the 7th, the first day of the Court's regular April term, he dealt with the Colonel's son—Samuel Bayard—who eventually was obliged to acknowledge his "offences" in exchange for his freedom. Then on April 9th a grand jury



SECOND FLOOR PLAN OF OLD CITY HALL, 1700–1763
Original drawing as of 1745–7 by David Grim, 1818
Showing the Supreme Court rooms where Roger Baker was tried, 1702
Gift of David Grim, the draftsman, 1819

FRONT ELEVATION OF OLD CITY HALL, 1700–1763
Original drawing as of 1745–7 by David Grim, 1818
The only extant record of its appearance prior to its 1763 alteration
Gift of David Grim, the draftsman, 1819

brought in presentments against Attorney-General Broughton, Phillip French, and Thomas Wenham for "high Misdemeanors" and against Roger Baker "for saying King William was but a nose of wax & is no longer King as we please."

Poor Roger Baker! Broughton defied the Court by claiming he was "answerable to none but the King & the Govern[r] for any Neglect of his office"; French and Wenham, though they had joined Bayard in signing a petition[2] on January 20th demanding Hutchins' release, were both wealthy merchants and in any case could not be prosecuted because they had fled from the Province,

[2] Rip Van Dam also signed this petition, but for some reason the Council promised on March 12, 1701/2, that he would not be prosecuted. *Calendar of Council Minutes 1668–1783*, 8:317.

but Baker had to stand trial for the few injudicious words he had let slip in an unguarded moment. Not that he was alone in his uncomplimentary opinion of William III. Even though his queen was the eldest daughter of James II, William of Orange had been a bad-tasting dose for many of the English colonists; the very factions—Leislerian and Anti-Leislerian—which rent New York's political life for so long owed their being to the strife resulting from William's and Mary's accession in 1689. The King's position was not improved by Mary's dying in 1694, nor was that of his New York government during the lingering illness that preceded his own death in 1702. Nanfan, Atwood, and the rest were not satisfied with their triumph over the arrogant Bayard and his friend Hutchins; to bolster their weakened authority still more, Roger Baker—prominent enough for their purposes—must be quickly and suitably punished.

Like Hutchins, Roger Baker kept a tavern. He was the son of Roger Baker of Paradise House in Yardley Parish, Worcestershire; by 1693, the year in which he married Mary Walkington, he had established himself in New York City, and by the end of the century he had a daughter Katharine and a small son named Joseph. His tavern, a favorite with the Anti-Leislerians, is said to have stood at the southwest corner of present-day Pearl Street and Maiden Lane[3] and, whatever his opinion of William, he called it the King's Head. It was a cheery, comfortable sort of place, apparently, popular with members of the Assembly, and conference committees soon began to make it their usual meeting place. Baker must have been the typical taverner: bluff, jovial, hearty, well liked by all his guests, and indubitably—judging by the events of Guy Fawkes Day, 1701—rather too fond of joining those same guests in generous draughts of his potent wares.

The trial began on the afternoon of April 10, 1702, with Baker pleading not guilty. When the jury was drawn, four of the men called were absent and May Bickley, the eminent attorney whom Baker had retained, then asked for the customary *tales*. Contem-

[3]Though Bayles' *Old Taverns of New York* asserts there is no real evidence of this.

porary writers,[4] complaining to London of Atwood's conduct in the case, make a point of explaining that the jury was all-Dutch and consequently "packt"; they also relate how the Chief Justice —even though there were more than thirty Englishmen present in the court room—sent the sheriff out to fetch in four Dutchmen of his own party, how the sheriff could find only three, and how Atwood in the end had to accept John Ellis or Ellison to make up a twelve-man jury.

According to Chief Justice Atwood's defense, published in London in 1703,[5] this twelfth juryman was "one of the [Anti-Leislerian] Faction, and of so ill Fame, that a *Jury* even of that Party at the same Court, in effect found him Guilty of Forgery, . . ." True, the case of "Jn°. Finch & ux. vs. Jn°. Elisson" appears in the Supreme Court minutes for the morning of April 10th. After listing the names of jurors and witnesses, the clerk notes that "The Jury find for the plantiff according to the Bond 6d costs" and that "[James] Emott pr Deft moves in arrest of Judgment" and is ordered to file his reasons "14 days before next terme." There is no mention of forgery nor, indeed, any suggestion that the details of the case were as damning to Ellison as Atwood implies.

As for the charge made by the Chief Justice's enemies that an all-Dutch jury was selected that afternoon to weigh the evidence against Baker, here is the list that was finally recorded in the minutes:

Arriaen Hogelandt	Will[m] Pell
Theunis Quyck	Jn° Byvanck
Jn° Willemse	Abra. Messiers
Volkert Harmanse	Th° Pell
Jacob Bennett	Jn° Ellisson
William Shackerly	John Le Grand

Not all of these names are Dutch, obviously, and even if they were their owners could as well have been Anti-Leislerians as

[4] *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, IV:957.

[5] See "The Case of William Atwood, Esq." in the NYHS *Collections* for 1880, pp. 239–319; specifically pp. 382–3 and 310.

Leislerians. The Dutch were not invariably adherents of Jacob Leisler—the Schuylers, for example, were violently opposed to him. It would be more correct to say that cleavage followed economic lines, with the moneyed, substantial citizens tending—though not without exception—to resist Leisler while the common people rallied behind him. Old accounts, it is true, speak loosely of the "Dutch" (Leislerian) and "English" (Anti-Leislerian) parties, and perhaps by the term "all-Dutch" a jury of Leislerian partisans is meant. But whatever their party or national background, egged on by a scheming John Ellison or not, this particular group of New Yorkers showed a stubborn independence of spirit calculated to infuriate the Court as the trial of Roger Baker proceeded.

Atwood declares that Bickley, attorney for the innkeeper, "by the Chief Justice's Favour was admitted to Practise, without any Letter or Certificate mentioning his Qualification: Nor was he ever reproved by the Chief Justice, to whose Table he had been welcome, till he had been very insolent for his Client *Baker*. . . ." In other words Bickley, who after all was as zealous an Anti-Leislerian and just as much of a "traitor" to King William as Baker himself, chose to bite the hand that fed him. Attorney-General Broughton, too, was sharply criticized: though ordered to put the grand jury's presentment "into Form," he had done "nothing, nor so much as enquired what Evidence there was for the *King;* and when he came to open the Information, drawn by the *Solicitor* [Atwood's man], shew'd, that he question'd whether the Words could be prov'd, saying, 'I must confess the words are of an high Nature, *if they can be prov'd;* and immediately sat down. . . .' "

Witnesses for the King were Gerrett Onehill and David Provoost; Bickley called William Huddlestone, Joseph Cleator, Matthew Ling, and James Emott, a certain "Capt. Vech," and even a Mrs. Van Swieten in Baker's defense. One of the men conceded that Baker—on November 5th of the previous year—had

indeed called King William "a nose of wax," but added that since it was a "Holy-day" they had been very drunk. Two others who had been present swore Baker had said no such thing; furthermore, although they had all been drinking, the earlier witness had indulged himself with such abandon on the day in question as to be unable to stand!

The Chief Justice instructed the jurors to return Baker guilty. Associate Justices Abraham DePeyster and Robert Walters were merchants who knew nothing of the legal niceties of charging a jury; having followed Atwood's lead submissively through the trial of Bayard and Hutchins, they surely would not have balked at dealing a little high-handedly with the twelve men chosen to judge Roger Baker, but at least one man of those twelve felt that Atwood's brand of justice had prevailed once too often. The jury remained out all night and when called on the morning of April 11th announced that they found Baker not guilty. Angrily Atwood refused the verdict and sent the twelve back to the jury room to emerge six hours later with the same decision. Three more times they came and went with the Chief Justice, in a fury, berating them passionately and threatening to fine and imprison them all. Proceedings were finally adjourned till eight o'clock in the evening, at which time the frightened jurors eventually indicated a desire to speak with the Court. Hearing that they still could not agree on the verdict he wanted, Atwood demanded to know who was being so obstinate. John Ellison, they told him.

Ellison, it seems, had taken with him into the jury room a book which stated that two witnesses were required to convict a man of high treason, and had imposed "a false Application" of the law on his fellows. This, the pro-Atwood version of the story, is offset by the fact that two witnesses for the King are recorded and had both attested to Baker's treasonable remarks, there would seem to have been no occasion for invoking such a stipulation. If, on the other hand, there was some question as to the testimony of either Gerrett Onehill or David Provoost, or if one

or the other did not actually claim to have heard the famous words, then the story of Ellison's book hardly serves to justify Atwood's bullying insistence that Baker must be punished.

It was late at night and undoubtedly all concerned—the three judges, the defendant and his counsel, the attorney-general, jurymen, and spectators—were tired and out of sorts. Chief Justice Atwood now turned the full weight of his wrath against Ellison—harangued him so violently, so long, and in such menacing language that the man at last had to give way. Roger Baker was recorded guilty in open court and promptly it was "Ordered the Deft be fin'd four hundred pieces of eight & stand comitted untill he pay the same & make such acknowledgm^{t} of his offence as the Govern^{r}. shall think fitting."

Exactly seven days later, on April 18th, Roger Baker was released on his own recognizance in the sum of £120. Governor Cornbury, the white hope of the Anti-Leislerians, arrived in May; Baker appeared before him—seemingly with satisfactory results—on the 28th, and early in the following month had the very real pleasure of seeing Chief Justice Atwood suspended from office and driven in a few weeks' time to abscond homeward by way of New Jersey and Virginia.

Roger Baker had great plans that summer: in a petition read before the Common Council on July 23rd, he announced his intention of building a large house of brick and stone on William Street, where he was then living. It was to be a house of true beauty, an ornament to the city, and for it Baker was allowed to take a small sliver from the street at one point in return for an equal number of inches elsewhere. But this was "the time of the great sickness" in New York. A trading vessel from St. Thomas in the West Indies brought with its cargo a contagious fever that spread among the people with terrifying ease and was almost always fatal. Whatever it was—yellow fever or something very similar—Roger Baker and his little son must have been two of its victims. A worn stone in Trinity Churchyard tells the passer-by:

HERE LYES Y^E BODY OF M^R ROGER
BAKER WHO DEPRTED THIS
LIFE THE 20:^TH DAY OF SEPTEMB.^R
1702 AETATIS SUAE 43.

LIKEWISE Y^E BODY OF JOSEPH
BAKER HIS SON WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE—DAY OF OCTOBER
1702 SUA: 8 YEARS & 7 MONTHS

Perhaps Mary Baker was appalled at the thought of having to manage the tavern by herself in its new location; in December—barely three months after Roger's death—she married Richard Harris. The King's Head prospered under his hands and official New York was faithful. In 1704 Harris was paid for supplying the Mayor and Aldermen with a piece of beef and cabbage, a dish of tripe and cow heel, a leg of mutton and pickles, two puddings, thirty-one bottles of wine, and other such trifles; on November 8, 1710, a conference committee of the Legislature met at Harris's to consider "an Act to prevent the burning of the Woods," and in 1714 he received payment for expenses incurred on his premises by the city fathers in celebrating the proclamation of George I on October 11th to succeed Queen Anne.

Within five more months, however, Richard Harris had died. George Cocke, the son-in-law to whom the twice-widowed Mary disposed of her share in the William Street property, survived him by only seven years. Other taverns hung out the old King's Head sign[6] and the aldermen and committee-members, loyal for so long, found refreshment at the Horse and Cart, the Cocoa-Nut Tree,[7] the Queen's Head, the Province Arms, Obadiah Hunt's, and Todd's.

[6] George Burns, who in 1758 succeeded "Scotch Johnny" as proprietor of the Crown and Thistle, later renamed it the King's Head in honor of George III. Still another King's Head, kept by Loosley and Elm first in New York City and after 1779 in Brooklyn, was a rendezvous for British officers during the Revolution.

[7] It is interesting to note that the Cocoa-Nut Tree was kept by one Richard Baker and afterwards by his widow Martha; also, that an Assembly committee met there on April 19, 1745. Stokes (*Iconography*, IV:588) mistakenly identifies this tavern with that of Roger Baker's widow, though—if still alive in 1745—she would have been the "Widow Harris."

LITERARY ALLUSIONS IN AMERICAN ADVERTISING*

AS SOURCES OF SOCIAL HISTORY

by Bella C. Landauer

LITERATURE and advertising may seem strange bedfellows, but during the past century many American business concerns have believed the combination to be productive of sales or patronage. On cursory inspection, it would seem that the advertisements which exploited public interest—real or supposed—in books and authors, poems and plays, were directed to no special class of readers, appealed no less to one type of advertiser than to another, and indicated no gaps in the range of reader-preference from Mother Goose to Shakespeare. Further analysis, however, might well bear fruit for the social historian interested in the cultural and educational levels of a young and growing people, in literary trends and popular erudition, or, it may be, in the intellectual snobbery of provincials and pioneers nursing an inferiority complex. It is a rich and untouched field.

This little article cannot attempt such an analysis. It can only point to the types and abundance of material available for study

* Editor's Note: This article is based upon material in The Bella C. Landauer Collection of Business and Professional Ephemera at The New-York Historical Society. All illustrations are reproductions of items in that Collection.

and offer a few examples to illustrate the variety and profusion of the advertisements employing "literature" as a "come on." One tentative conclusion, however, may be ventured: recent advertisers have far less faith in the interest-catching quality of literary allusion than had their progenitors. As an illustration: when a recent advertiser offered a "*Gone with the Wind*" *Cook Book—A Gift with your purchase of Pebecco Toothpaste*, the idea was "inspired" not by Mrs. Mitchell's best-seller (which was not mentioned) but, in the words of the title page, "by the picture 'Gone with the Wind.'" What this argues concerning the mental climate of today as compared with that, say, of the Elegant Eighties or the Gay Nineties we leave to wiser heads. At any rate, there is comparatively little recognition in current advertising of literature as an effective avenue of commercial propaganda.

Since we have raised this question, however, it is only fair to point out that the names and resident advertising of several hotels still indicate that their managers regard their patrons as literate persons. Elmira, New York, for instance, has its Mark Twain Hotel, while Jamaica, Long Island, and Camden, New Jersey, have their Whitmans. Patrons of another hotel are offered volumes of *Alice in Wonderland*, *Gulliver's Travels*, Gaboriau's *File No. 913*—all bearing the imprint: "Tarry at theTaft," and showing on the cover a picture of the building with the words: "Compliments of the Hotel Taft New York." And a 1941 menu of the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., impresses the diners with a picture of Samuel Clemens in his room at the old Willard where some of his important work was done. But, on the whole, bathing beauties have replaced Oscar Wilde as the eye-catcher of prospective customers.

The forms of the advertisements in which allusions to literary works and authors were used vary from substantial volumes distributed as presentation copies or premiums for preservation in the library as a constant reminder of the product for sale, through pamphlets and miniature books for passage from hand to hand,

to the ephemeral broadside and trade card. Inducements for the preservation even of the latter were frequently offered by issuing them in series for the benefit of collectors. (Speaking of collectors' items, the first separate edition of one celebrated story was issued as an advertisement,[1] and an advertising parody[2] by one famous author of another's famous poem is now listed by dealers at a price far higher than the original would bring.) Manufacturers have used the names of books and authors even on the wrappers for their wares: the edging of at least one cigar-brand box is nothing but a chain of eminent literary names ranging from Shakespeare to Maxim Gorki, from Macbeth to Maud Muller!

The variety of modes in which writings and writers were incorporated into the advertisements also shows considerable versatility. The most obvious, but often the most expensive form, was to reproduce a story or poem entire, reserving cover, end papers, flyleaves, and title pages for advertising copy. A variant of this was the anthology of divers genres used similarly, sometimes to advertise a single product, sometimes with interspersed leaves of advertising for a whole bevy of commercial enterprises. Next in closeness to the original was the parody, generally worded to tout the advantages of a soap, a department store, or some other product or business establishment. Sometimes an author's prestige or the fame of a fictional character was exploited as a brand name. Sometimes his portrait, a picture of his house, or scenes illustrating episodes in his work were reproduced to catch the public eye. In an era when the game of "authors" was a favorite parlor pastime, it is not surprising that such pictorial items, particularly in the form of trade cards, were effective. And in a few instances, the naked irrelevant names of the laureled men of words or of their creatures were considered magic enough to overcome the stiffest sales resistance. "Abracadabra: buy my wares! Emerson, Goethe: smoke Old Cheroot! Don Quixote: wear Irish linen!"

[1] *Galloway's Code,* by O. Henry.
[2] Bret Harte's "Sapolio" parody of Longfellow's "Excelsior."

It is surprising to note that with but a handful of exceptions the best-sellers of the day and their authors were not regarded by our early advertisers as reliable commercial copy, and even among that handful at least two had become—and remain—classics: Shakespeare and Mother Goose. For the most part reliance was placed either on the standard heavyweights of the schoolbooks or on contemporary authors who have subsequently found their niche there. It is also significant that American writers are represented in the random sampling presented below in a ratio of approximately three to one as compared with English authors and that as many Europeans were thought to be familiar to the buying public as were the English. Shakespeare, however, was so great an attraction and touched his readers' imaginations to such an extent that his genius permeated all lines of endeavor. There is such an accumulation of Shakespearean advertising material on hand that in 1937 the writer felt compelled to compile a book: *When Advertisers Discovered Shakespeare*. Due to this fact, all reference to the Bard is eliminated from this article.

Children's books and Christmas tales, of course, have ever excited the buyer's interest. The business world, presumably recognizing this fact, made use of it. Clement C. Moore's "A Visit from St. Nicholas," first published in 1823 though not publicly acknowledged by the author till 1844, was copiously drawn upon, and we find may reprintings of these familiar lines. E. Ridley & Sons, a Grand Street, New York, dry goods store of seventy-five years ago, published a leaflet entitled "Christmas Times," which is Moore's identical poem; and in 1879 the Christmas offering of the Bee Hive, a general store of Hartford, Connecticut, took the form of a parody beginning:

> *'Twas the first of December, and all through the city*
> *The people were looking for everything pretty*
> *And papas and mammas and uncles and aunts*
> *Were looking for gifts to please youngsters in pants.*

Children, old as well as young, also had a profound taste for *Mother Goose*, which had entered American printed literature

shortly after the Revolution through the press of Isaiah Thomas at Worcester, Massachusetts—not, as some would have it, in 1719, through the Boston press of Thomas Fleet, alleged son-in-law of Mrs. Vergoose, the alleged compiler. We all remember the ancient nursery rhymes, but who has heard these versions?—

Sing a song of sixpence, bonnet all awry;
Mother's in a hurry to get some Diamond Dye;
Red or green or yellow, lovely pinks and blues,
Make your mind up quickly; now's the time to choose.

Wells, Richardson & Company of Bennington, Vermont, perpetrated that one more than sixty years ago. Proof is ample that our own radio jingles were equalled in charm (or asininity, according to your taste) by the trade cards and leaflets of the '70s, '80s, and '90s:

There was an old woman who lived in a shoe,
She had so many children she knew not what to do,
Some she had nursed, and some bottle-fed,
But those raised on Nestles Food came out ahead.

"The Adventures of Humpty-Dumpty" was advertising Sea Foam baking powder (Gantz, Jones & Co., 126 Duane St., N. Y.) in 1877; "Mother Goose" sold Waterbury Stem-Winders; Dwight's Soda was dispensed by a set of thirty Mother Goose cards; and the U. S. Playing Card Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, copyrighted their "Tart Rhymes" in 1899:

The Congress Queen of Hearts
She made some dainty tarts
All on a summer's day . . .

For some unfathomable reason the cotton-trade barons were particularly susceptible to the nursery rhyme. About 1880, J. & P. Coates had a set of illustrated cards printed for them at New York's famous Five Points:

Tom, Tom, the Piper's son,
Learnt to play when he was young;
His mother sewed his clothes 'tis said
With J. & P. Coates six-cord thread.

"SEA FOAM" BAKING POWDER
Cover: 16-page pamphlet
(*New York: Gantz, Jones & Co., 1877*)

DON QUIXOTE TRADE CARD
One of twenty issued *c.* 1870
by Wilson Packing Co., Chicago

Corticelli's Silk Mills, Florence, Massachusetts, in 1882 published *A Parody on the House that Jack Built;* Merricks Thread Company of Boston competed for the nursery-rhyme trade with a parody of *Pussy in the Well;* and a New York company entered the fray with *Clark's Mile End Sport Cotton Parodies, Jolly Miller's Wife Rhymes, Rock-a-Bye Baby Rhymes*, and finally *Clark's O.N.T. Rhymes for All Times*, which later branched out to include Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, and others:

> *Gulliver was heard to say*
> *He owed the victory that day*
> *That in his pocket chanced to be*
> *Several spools of O.N.T.*

The cotton-thread advertisers may have been acting on the Victorian fiction that mentally women were only grown-up children, and the success of their efforts apparently confirmed them in the opinion. When the new canning industry started to advertise and found Mother Goose preëmpted, it procured

*A*Esop to manage its campaign, and the N. K. Fairbank Canning Company of Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and Boston, issued a series of trade cards showing "The Ant and the Grasshopper," "The Frog and the Ox," etc. But they apparently found Mother Goose to be a better salesman after all, for their *Cottolene Primer*, copyrighted 1903, reverted to "Simple Simon" and his playmates:

Mary had a little Pig,
She combed it with a card
When it grew up to be a Hog,
It made good Fairbank Lard.

For the carriage trade, Fairbank went high-hat and advertised their pigs with verses from Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope," Byron's "Corsair," and assorted Shakespeare.

Shortly after the Civil War the Wilson Packing Company teamed up with Sweet, Orr & Company, clothiers, to hire a joint advertising manager named Miguel de Cervantes de Saavedra, a reputable Spaniard born in the year 1547. Cervantes brought with him a layout artist called Don Quixote and a copywriter dubbed Sancho Panza who concocted a set of twenty vividly colored trade cards, bearing such titles as "Don Quixote and the Flock of Sheep," "The Innkeeper's Daughter Arranges Don Quixote's Helmet," "Sancho Panza Tossed in a Blanket," "Don Quixote Invokes the Memory of Dulcinea del Toboso," and "Don Quixote after the Adventure of the Wind-Mill."

Most catholic of all advertisers in literary tastes was the tobacco trade, which has always been prolific in ideas and industrious in demanding public attention. We have already spoken of the cigar-box edgings which invoked the names of Ivanhoe, Longfellow, Goethe, Maxim Gorky, Maud Muller, Macbeth, Ruskin, Plutarch, Cooper, Schiller, Shakespeare, and Anthony Hope. W. Duke and Sons went further and issued authors' portraits on their trade cards with backgrounds symbolic of their work: Poe with a raven (reproduced on page 148), James Fenimore Cooper with a tomahawk and peace pipe, Hawthorne with

Hilda's Tower, and Samuel L. Clemens with a view of tramping abroad. Helman Cigarettes used pictures of authors' houses, instead of portraits, on their trade cards: the House of the Seven Gables, Longfellow's home, Emerson's, John Alden's, and Miles Standish's houses, the Old Wayside Inn, Whittier's birthplace, Poe's Cottage at Fordham.

But the tobacconists did not stop with the reproduction of names, portraits, and homes: some of them even made use of the works themselves. So it was that Dumas' *The Count of Monte Cristo* was issued in a special edition, printed by George Rutledge & Sons, Ltd., 9 Lafayette Place, New York City, for presentation "to the lovers of the most exquisite Havana Cigar by P. Pohalski & Co., Distributor." The front cover is ornately and colorfully enhanced with a "Monte Cristo Cigar" label illustrating the book, and the back cover with a picture of the factory, 1889, "situated in the crowded neighborhood of Pohalski City, a suburb and the Pride of Key West."

And it was only a generation ago—just before World War I—that Egyptienne "Straights" and Sovereign Cigarettes launched the most ambitious of all advertising projects of literary type. They announced: "One Story accompanying each package—100 Titles ready—more in preparation. . . . The collection when complete will be an exceedingly valuable one." And, indeed, the authors include such names as Rudyard Kipling, George Fitch, and Anthony Hope, as well as lesser-known contemporaries. One item of this series—O. Henry's *Galloway's Code*—is a first edition and quite rare. The story had appeared in *Whirligigs* (1910) but, until this edition (which was copyrighted 1914 by the Winthrop Press), not separately.

Speaking of first printings of important authors, it is interesting to note that Ambrose Bierce was published in an advertising volume years before the general publishers took him up. *The Buyer's Manual and Business Guide* (San Francisco, 1872), being, in its own words, "a Description of the Leading Business Houses, Manufactories, Inventions, Etc., on the Pacific Coast,

Together with Copious and Readable Selections, Chiefly from California Writers," contained Bierce's "Town Crierisms," as well as Bret Harte's "The Luck of Roaring Camp" and "The Idyl of Battle Hollow," Mark Twain's "Jumping Frog of Calaveras" and his "First Interview with Artemas Ward," plus selections from Joaquin Miller, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and many others. It is surprising that California business men were willing to pay for ads interspersed among such material and a reminder that San Francisco was once a serious contender for the title: Literary Capital of the Country.

New York firms were a decade behind San Francisco in adapting the anthology to the uses of advertising. *The Art of Correspondence*, published in 1880 by Dempsey & Carroll, "the Art Stationers of America, 46 E. 14th St., Union Square (South)," was a collection of letters by some hundred and fifty authors including (besides signers of the Declaration, U. S. Presidents, military heroes and statesmen) a whole galaxy of literary men—English, European, and American. The Preface stated: "While issuing this work in appreciation of the kind favors extended us by our patrons, we hope to evidence to the lovers of fine stationery who have not favored us, the advantages of visiting our establishment." The following year the same firm published and distributed "With Compliments Dempsey & Carroll Art Stationers Union Square, N. Y.—" its *Diamonds from Brilliant Minds*, *Gems of Poesy*, *Quotations and Proverbs*, and in 1882 its *Happy Thought! . . . Gleanings from Shakespere . . . AEsop and Applications*. The verso of the title page of this last work carried the following *NOTICE:*

At a cost of ($10,000) ten thousand dollars, in the falls of 1880 and 1881, we published and distributed *gratuitously*, thousands of volumes of "The Art of Correspondence" and "Diamonds from Brilliant Minds"; they were enthusiastically endorsed by the most learned of the land. After the editions were exhausted, thousands of letters were received *soliciting a copy*. *That all* may have an opportunity to obtain the Letters, Poetry, Proverbs, Quotations from Shakespere, Æsops Fables with Applications, (written one hundred years ago,) we have published

the three books in one volume, DEMPSEY & CARROLL'S GEMS, which will be sold for $2.00, and numbered slips will be delivered with each book, which we will receive in payment for its face value, $2.00 on all purchases of Stationery amounting to the sum of $10.00.

It is unquestionably *one* of the most valuable books ever published. Sent by mail, free of postage on receipt of $2.00

DEMPSEY & CARROLL

It is of interest to note that all three works were edited by Mr. George C. Carroll himself—no fat fees for bright young men in advertising agencies!

An interesting variant of the advertising anthology is the 40-page "Sweet Home" pamphlet issued in 1890 by J. D. Larkin & Co. of Buffalo to ballyhoo their soap. The cover carries a color-lithographed portrait of John Howard Payne with (inside) a sketch of his life. Two pages are devoted to each of the following authors—one page showing the writer's likeness, the other telling his story: Louisa May Alcott, George Bancroft, Edward Bellamy, Thomas Carlyle, Charles Dickens, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, James Whitcomb Riley, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

Longfellow held a very high place in advertising popularity. Soon after the Civil War, T. Kingsford & Co., Oswego, N. Y., in their juvenile anthology *Little Folks of America* (designed to induce proud mammas to starch their darlings' pinafores with Kingford's product), printed the whole of "The Children's Hour" just as Longfellow had written it. But the bard of Cambridge was particularly susceptible to parody. Thus the Vermont firm of Henry & Johnson called in Hiawatha as a barker for their cure-all:

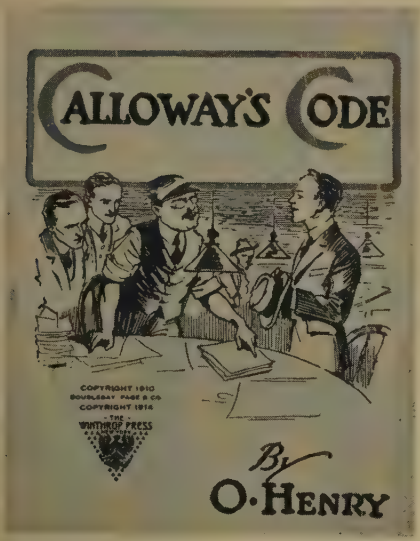
Made of all most healing Balsams
Found in all the Northern forests—
Balsams of the Pine and Fir tree,
Made in Burlington—a city
Standing near the Champlaine Waters. . . .

The *pièce de résistance* of the Longfellow parodies, however, is the now-famous Bret Harte item on "Excelsior." Enoch Morgan's Sons commissioned the Albany-born writer to execute this leaflet in the 1870's, and had it printed by Donaldson Brothers at the Five Points, New York City. Since then many editions have found their way onto an eager collectors' market. An edition appeared in 1878 even in London. Longfellow's aspiring youth no longer bore an emblem with this strange device—Excelsior! Instead, he carried "A stencil-plate that read complete—'SAPOLIO' "! And at the end of his journey, having reached the pinnacle of achievement atop the White Mountains, he waited for the tourists:

> *There on the summit old and fat,*
> *Shameless, but vigorous, he sat,*
> *While on their luggage as they passed,*
> *He checked that word, from first to last,*
>
> *"SAPOLIO"*

The last author to make advertising copy on an epidemic scale was Oscar Wilde.[3] The works of later authors affected occasional advertisements, as witness the parody for Wistar's Balsam Cure of a best-selling John Fox title: "The Lay of the Lonesome Lung," but none again was to be so infectious to copywriters as the velvet-coated aesthete. The lyrics of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience* had ridiculed Wilde's pretentious posturings in 1881 and gave currency to the ridicule in the same years which witnessed the sensation of Wilde's American lecture tour. The author's compilation: *Gilbert and Sullivan Influence on Tradecards* shows innumerable examples of the Oscar-sunflower motif. A sample of Oscar in advertising is the large-size picture of the poet issued by Ehrich Brothers Dry Goods Store of New York

[3] Since this article went to press a new accession to the Landauer Collection shows that Longfellow's popularity has outlasted Wilde's. The Childs Restaurants, in their *Footnotes to Childs,* No. 346, April 11–13, 1947, print the whole "Psalm of Life" as a broadside souvenir for their customers.



TITLE PAGE: FIRST SEPARATE EDITION
Actual size, 31 pages, frontis., paper cover
(*New York: The Winthrop Press, 1914*)

OSCAR WILDE
Litho. distributed *c.* 1882
by Ehrich Bros., 8th Ave. & 24th St.

City. The reverse side carried "The Lily's Avengers," of which the first stanzas read:

"I am not false, I am not false,"
The tall Sunflower said,
And trembled as she tried to raise
Her heavy-hanging head.

"I love the golden Sun no less
Than e'er I did before,
But oh! but oh! but oh! oh! oh!
I love my Oscar more."

The purpose of this article has not been to recommend that all advertising agencies employ only Litt. D.'s as idea men and copywriters, but to point out and illustrate previously unused resources abundantly available to social historians, and to suggest how, through the study of seemingly trivial and ephemeral material, they can reconstruct past aims, endeavors, and mores, and invoke a mental picture of the tastes and predilections of earlier generations.

ROBERT HAVELL'S "VIEW OF THE HUDSON FROM TARRYTOWN HEIGHTS"

by Harry P. Havell

THE purpose of this short sketch is to record the presently known data and the Havell family traditions regarding "The Hudson River View" painted in oil by Robert Havell and presented to the Society by the author on September 9, 1946.

Like other paintings by this artist, the canvas is not signed, for Robert Havell preferred to be remembered as an engraver and made no pretense to professional competence as a painter. His pictures in oil were done in America as a hobby, very few being sold during his lifetime. Little did he imagine that in the mature judgment of time he would be known as one of America's Hudson River artists.

Robert Havell with his wife and first-born daughter, Amelia Jane, arrived in America in 1839. In Ruthven Deane's "The Copper-Plates of the Folio Edition of Audubon's 'Birds of America,' with a Brief Sketch of the Engravers" (*The Auk*, October 1908, p. 406), it is stated:

> Under date of March 9, 1906, his [Robert Havell's] daughter, Mrs. Amelia J. Lockwood of New York, wrote me that they sailed in the ship "Wellington" and upon their arrival traveled up the Hudson River to West Point and other towns, returning after a few weeks and visited at Mr. Audubon's, who had also returned to America and was residing in White St., New York. After residing in Brooklyn, N. Y., for two years, in 1841 Havell purchased a home in Sing Sing (now Ossining), a beautiful spot commanding a fine view of the Hudson River and Palisades, and named it "Rocky Mount." There he remained until 1857, when he purchased land and built another home at Tarrytown, N. Y., remaining there until his death November 11, 1878, in his eighty-fifth year, and was buried in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery with his wife, who died July 10, 1878. Their first boy was named Audubon, and the naturalist stood godfather, holding the child while being baptised, in St. James church, London. This boy died two years later.
>
> After coming to America, Havell devoted much time to painting in oils and a short time before his death gave an exhibition and sale at his

VIEW OF THE HUDSON FROM TARRYTOWN HEIGHTS
By Robert Havell (1793–1878)
Gift of Mr. Harry Peck Havell, 1946

home, of some seventy-five paintings, representing landscapes, panorama views and ornithological subjects.

The "View of the Hudson" came to the donor from Robert Havell's daughter, Miss Marianna Edington Havell, who was born August 24, 1847, after the family had settled in Sing Sing. It was her memory, in later life, that the picture represented their home at Sing Sing, and the circumstances which led to Havell's purchase of that property, as related both by her and her sister Amelia, are indeed interesting:

. It had been their father's habit, which he brought from England, to take his family along on his sketching trips in a horse-drawn vehicle large enough to live in—doubtless a primitive forerunner of the modern trailer. In England this had been quite practical, but in America people were too curious and left them

no privacy, so the scheme eventually had to be abandoned. While on one of these sketching trips, they came upon a vendue or auction in progress at Sing Sing. Mrs. Havell, fatigued perhaps with their gypsy mode of life, bid on the house and property up for sale. Not supposing that they would be the successful bidders, the Havells drove away. Imagine their surprise when the auctioneer's helper overtook their traveling home, informed them that the property had been knocked down to them, and asked that they return and take title! . . .

That house still stands in Ossining, but it is not the house in the Society's "View." A paper label in Marianna's hand, which was pasted to the front of the canvas when it was given to the Society, reads: "View of the Hudson from [*torn*]town Heights." Since Havell lived in Tarrytown from 1857 till his death in 1878, the torn label, written perhaps when his daughter's memory was fresher, suggests Tarrytown Heights as the artist's point of view.

Thanks are due to Mr. Elliot Baldwin Hunt, President of the Ossining Historical Society, for helping to confirm that suggestion; to Miss Alice M. Runyon, Assistant Director, Philipse Castle Restoration and Sunnyside, for her judgment "that the point of land center foreground is, without question, Kingsland Point and the one back of it Croton Point"; and to Rev. Robert B. Pattison of the Westchester County Historical Society for his corroborative judgment and his identification of "the oldtime Underhill Mansion above the trees at the outer end of the Point."

Though the large house at the right cannot be identified (except negatively as not Havell's own), it is safe to say that the view was painted from the heights north of Tarrytown.

A GIFT FROM OLD YORK TO NEW YORK

by Alexander J. Wall, Jr.

ON A DAY in May, 1942, Mr. Edward Tempest of the constabulary force of Yorkshire, England, while observing the ruins of the historic Guildhall of York—destroyed by Nazi air attacks—noticed that there remained intact a portion of stained glass containing the coat of arms of the Washington family and a bronze tablet erected by the City of New York and bearing an expression of friendship and good will from the citizens of the New World city. It occurred to him that the ancient city of York might spare one relic from the ruins of this honored edifice for its godchild—New York City!

From this thought there emerged a gavel fashioned of oak from the Guildhall timbers, which Mr. Tempest was delegated by the Lord Mayor of York to carry to this city for presentation to the citizens of New York for safekeeping in The New-York Historical Society. On April 11, 1947, Mr. Tempest was received at City Hall by Deputy Mayor John J. Bennett. After delivering the gavel, which Mr. Bennett entrusted to Dr. Fenwick Beekman, President of the Society, Mr. Tempest was conducted to the Society's building where a reception was held in his honor. On hand to greet him, in addition to Dr. and Mrs. Beekman, were Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, First Vice-President of the Society, and Mrs. Kimball; Mr. Leonidas Westervelt, Third Vice-President, and Mrs. Westervelt; Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman, Recording Secretary, and Mrs. Lockman; Mr. Forsyth Wickes and Dr. Arthur H. Merritt, members of the Board of Trustees; and Mr. R. W. G. Vail, the Society's Director.

Mr. Tempest's friends, also present to meet him, included Mr. Philip Cummings of Woodstock, Vermont; Mayor Charles Holton of Essex Fells, New Jersey, and Mrs. Holton; Mr. and Mrs. George B. Biggs of Verona, New Jersey; and Mr. Ralph Cropley of Summit, New Jersey.

MR. EDWARD TEMPEST, PRES. BEEKMAN, HON. JOHN J. BENNETT

At the New York City Hall, April 11, 1947, for the presentation of the Guildhall-oak gavel from the citizens of York to the citizens of New York

The gavel is beautifully turned. On it are mounted a stylized representation of the "white rose of York" and the coat of arms of the city. The gavel and block are enclosed in a casket which bears the label: "Made from the timbers of the Guildhall roof, York 1448–1942." Also included is an illuminated parchment with the following words: "This Gavel and Casket, fashioned from ancient Guildhall Oak, a symbol of affectionate regard between the Old World and the New, is the gift of Alderman Frank Gaines, Lord Mayor, and the Citizens of York, England to The New-York Historical Society. April 11th 1946."

Mr. Tempest also presented, as a gift from the General Film Distributors, Leeds, England, a technicolor film of the London Victory Parade for preservation at the Society. This parade was

by far the most spectacular to be held following World War II and the film will make a valuable record for future generations.

The Society is honored to accept and hold in trust these two tokens of the good will and esteem of the citizens of old York for the citizens of New York, as evidence of which the following testimonial was engrossed in accordance with a resolution of the Board of Trustees, signed by President Beekman and Mr. Vail as Secretary of the Board, and sent to the Lord Mayor of York:

In token of its gratitude and appreciation, The New-York Historical Society, for itself and the citizens of the City of New York, and by vote of its Board of Trustees, extends to Alderman Frank Gaines, Lord Mayor, and the citizens of York, England, its thanks for the gavel, fashioned from ancient Guildhall Oak, a symbol of affectionate regard between the citizens of Old York and her namesake, New York, and of the continued friendship and brotherhood of the people of Great Britain and the United States.

New York City, May 20, 1947

A similar token of gratitude and appreciation was delivered to the General Film Distributors Ltd., of Leeds, England.

* * *

SCARCE ISSUES OF THE *QUARTERLY* DESIRED

The following back issues of The New-York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* (now the *Quarterly*) have become scarce. As there are still occasionally calls for these issues, the Society will be grateful for the donation of copies from the files of members no longer in need of them. The issues desired are:

April 1922
October 1925
January 1926
April 1926
October 1927
January 1928
April 1928
July 1928
October 1928
January 1929
April 1929
July 1929
January 1930
October 1932
January 1934
October 1934
January 1940
October 1940
October 1944
January 1946

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Lost Men of American History. By STEWART H. HOLBROOK, with an Introduction by ALLAN NEVINS. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. xiv + 370 pages, illus., biblio., index. $3.50.)

In this Society we hear a good deal about the failure of schools and colleges to include much of history in their curriculum. Is the study of it too dry—too uninteresting? If so, who is to blame? Certainly not Stewart Holbrook, for he has just come out with a book which, even without names and careers of men who have made the neon lights of history, is just as thrilling as any novel you ever read and a thousand times more informative, too.

Beginning with the Pilgrims, who, it seems, never enjoyed the comfort of living in log cabins, notwithstanding all the pictures, Mr. Holbrook goes farther and says that neither John Smith of Jamestown nor Governor Bradford of Plymouth ever saw one—Indian wigwams were good enough —and not until after 1800 was the log cabin considered the "classic dwelling of the American frontier" and Mecca of future presidents: indeed, speaking as late as 1840, Daniel Webster felt it necessary to apologize for *not* having been born in one.

Mr. Holbrook has no hesitation in saying that the Revolution was planned by "a few shrewd men"—that the great mass of colonists were either passive or opposed to it—and he gives credit to Samuel Adams for first having the idea of a United States free and independent. He says also that Adams "was the dynamo who started the idea and kept it in motion." Well, judging by the illustrations of the Battle of Lexington, it is still going strong. First there is a picture of the modest "battle" as reported in 1775; then follows, with a few more frills, one painted in 1830; next as it appeared to an artist in 1855; and finally, in one painted in 1886 with "all restraint vanished," the rattle of musketry can almost be heard with the dead and dying too awful to behold.

Anyway we won the war, but not without female help: Deborah Sampson, "a rather startling amazon from Massachusetts," enlisted as a man, fought as one, drew the regulation soldier's pension afterward, and Mr. Holbrook says that if any of her descendants want to join the D.A.R. they are eligible—we presume if they are girls!

Then we read of Benedict Arnold's treason, the detailed truth of which we didn't hear until Carl Van Doren's *Secret History of the American Revolution*, and of General Charles Lee whose behavior wasn't much better and who was ordered off the field at the battle of Monmouth by Washington in language that Parson Weems couldn't approve. Another Lee, though, Sergeant Ezra Lee of Lyme, Connecticut, of different stuff, built the first sub, called the *Turtle;* and to prove that, while Americans might not shine as farmers, they were as good as they come at sea, Na-

thaniel Bowditch, a master mariner of Salem, wrote a book on navigation that transcended anything ever written on the subject.

Eli Whitney and Simeon North came next with mass production of firearms, Colonel George Shoemaker of Pennsylvania with coal for fuel, and Elkanah Watson with the first suggestion of an Erie Canal. This same Watson, too, was the originator of County Fairs, and Samuel Colt went Whitney one better by inventing the revolver. John Bostwick made the mousetrap that had the world going to his door; J. B. Williams, the first shaving stick; Thomas Sanford, the friction match; and Linus Yale, the cylinder lock.

Mr. Holbrook goes on indefinitely, one after another, on every page, with the men and women who began everything that makes America what it is. He forgot a few, like Oliver Evans who made the first conveyer which every flour and grist mill uses; and Dr. John Gorrie who thought up artificial ice and air conditioning. Then he includes some that surely already have their niche in history, as Colt, Montgomery Ward, Mary Baker Eddy, etc. But take it by and large, *Lost Men of American History* fills a long-felt want and is a fine book to have around the house, even if some of us do discount his allusions to our Presidents.

Ormond Beach, Florida GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

To Doctor R. Essays Here Collected and Published in Honor of the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach July 22, 1946. (Philadelphia: 1946.) [5] leaves, 301 pages. Frontispiece (portrait), plates, facsims. Leaf: 9¼ x 6¼ inches. Not for sale.

To Doctor R. is in the tradition of the tribute volumes issued in recent years to honor Wilberforce Eames, Andrew Keogh, and Harry Miller Lydenberg. Most of the essays in this collection, contributed by 31 authors, are concerned with one or more of the following subjects: manuscripts, printed books, pamphlets and broadsides, prints, bookmen, history as related in or connected with various manuscripts or printed items. Several of the essays include bibliographies or checklists; one is concerned with philately; two are in the realm of fantasy; and two are in verse.

Although Dr. Rosenbach has devoted his life to bookselling and has become preëminent in this field, none of the essays (except for the three at the end by members of the staff of The Rosenbach Company) is by a book dealer. At least fourteen are by librarians or men who have followed the library profession; eight are by persons who may be classified as collectors; two are by women. The essays are arranged in the alphabetical order of their authors' names.

The book begins with a paper by the late Joseph Quincy Adams, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library until his death in 1946, on

the Office Book 1622–1642 of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels. The records kept by Herbert's predecessors are lost, and Herbert's original records are evidently lost too, although there are in the Folger Library incomplete transcripts made from Herbert's Office Book, containing much information concerning 17th-century English drama, not available elsewhere.

Dr. Randolph G. Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library, has written about early printings of the Emancipation Proclamation, and particularly the copies printed as broadsides on Whatman paper by Messrs. Leland and Boker, which Dr. Adams is inclined to regard as belonging to a "rejected edition."

This is followed by Dr. Julian P. Boyd's relatively long account of the rebellion of Connecticut settlers in Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, against Pennsylvania rule in the 1780's, and Ethan Allen's part in the unsuccessful attempt of the more intransigent of these Yankees to carve out a separate state in northern Pennsylvania.

Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, Director of the American Antiquarian Society, has written "Reminiscences of some American Book Collectors" in which he describes the collecting interests and some of the characteristics of Sidney S. Rider, John Nicholas Brown, Joseph J. Cooke, Rush C. Hawkins, Marsden J. Perry, George L. Shepley, Nathaniel Paine, Charles L. Nichols, Frederick L. Gay, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Matt B. Brown, James B. Wilbur, Grenville Kane, William L. Clements, Henry E. Huntington, and A. S. W. Rosenbach.

Dr. Curt F. Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library describes that Library's paper and vellum copies of an Epithalamium, 1521, on the marriage of Charles III of Savoy and Beatrice of Portugal.

Joseph Carson, President of the Board of Trustees of the Free Library of Philadelphia, presents an account of A. C. Kline's *The Stamp Collector's Manual*, Philadelphia, 1862, America's first stamp catalogue.

In the form of "A Letter to Dr. Rosenbach," Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, gives a brief report on rare books acquired by the Library of Congress in the past decade.

Next comes Lee M. Friedman's article on Myra Kelly, her career as teacher in New York City's lower east side, and the books written by her.

In his article titled "One Chance in Ten Million," Raymond E. Hartz describes a most unusual occurrence, which must strengthen his faith in the guardian angel who presides over his collecting activities. While Messrs. Rosenbach and Fleming were busy with other matters in the emporium at 15 East 51st Street, Mr. Hartz began to "dally with the Americana," which is not his field. His eye fell upon and he examined with great interest an "Original Indian Deed to a Tract of Land in East New Jersey." Study of this document, dated August 13, 1708, indicated that it was a deed to the property Mr. Hartz now owns!

Mrs. Mary Crapo Hyde makes a study of *Vortigern*, the play written by William H. Ireland, which he claimed to be a newly discovered play by Shakespeare. Mrs. Hyde points out various flaws in the play which discredit it as the work of the Bard of Avon.

William A. Jackson of the Houghton Library at Harvard records the present locations of many early English books sold in the John L. Clawson sales of May, 1926.

Fiske Kimball, Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, differentiates Rococo and Romanticism, apropos of a review in the London *Times Literary Supplement* of his book, *The Creation of the Rococo*.

Sir Shane Leslie has written an illuminating paper on the "prince of bibliographers," Henry Bradshaw, who "under a mask of indolence" "worked like a Titan or a Sisyphus."

James G. McManaway of the Folger Shakespeare Library, in writing on "Shakespeare and the Heretics," attempts to answer the questions, "Isn't it amazing that we have so few biographical facts about Shakespeare?" and "Isn't it strange that we have none of the manuscripts of his plays?" After reading Mr. McManaway's excellent study, these facts do not seem at all strange or amazing.

Dr. Alexander Marx, Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary Library, has written a scholarly paper on "The Choice of Books by the Printers of Hebrew Incunabula." The books printed in Hebrew in the 15th century were principally devoted to the Bible, Bible commentaries, Mishna and Talmud, liturgy, codes and philology, with a few works in philosophy, ethics, science, history and belles-lettres. The larger part of the surviving Hebrew books of the 15th century were printed in Italy, where Abraham Conat of Mantua and Gershom Soncino were the principal printers of such books; most of the remaining Hebrew items were printed in Spain. As to many Hebrew incunabula either no copy survives today or the works are preserved only in parts or fragments.

Christopher Morley has written a short "memo" on "The Atom Splitter," Walt Whitman, combining anecdotes and literary evaluation.

Abraham A. Neuman, President of Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Languages, has written a 20-page essay on "Samuel Usque: Marrano Historian of the Sixteenth Century." Samuel Usque together with Abraham Usque (his kinsman?) fled from Portugal during the persecution of the Jews in the Inquisition under King Joano III (1522–1577). They eventually settled in Ferrara, in Italy, where Samuel Usque's work in Portuguese, the *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel* (Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel) was printed by Abraham Usque in 1553. This work, of which no translation into another language has been published, is a history of persecution of the Jews throughout the ages.

Boies Penrose presents a number of interesting historical details concerning the 15th-century Turkish conquests in Eastern Europe, the siege of Rhodes, and the rivalry between Bajazet and Djem, sons of

Mohammed the Turkish conqueror, for the throne left by their father. The point of departure for this dissertation is Gulielmus Caorsin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae Urbis Descriptio*, Ulm, 1496.

Carl H. Pforzheimer gives us sixteen lines of verse to "Rosy," the "Specialists' acme of perfection."

Lessing J. Rosenwald writes of his purchase of a manuscript *Prozess Gegen die Juden von Trent*, 1476–1478, sold at auction by Sotheby's on December 19, 1937. He was somewhat nervous about his unlimited bid, made through Dr. Rosenbach, but he paid less than he feared he might have to expend for the item. As he had surmised, the under-bidder was a German agent, who evidently wanted this anti-Semitic manuscript for use in Nazi propaganda.

Miss Emma Va. Unger, Librarian of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, has recorded typographic variations in three copies (Rosenbach, Pforzheimer, and Hogan) of Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598.

Robert W. G. Vail, Director of The New-York Historical Society, has compiled a catalogue of portraits of "The Four Kings of Canada," who were actually five Indian sachems who lived in the early 18th century in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys; and has appended to it a selected bibliography of writings about them.

Henry R. Wagner has assembled a good deal of information into 13 pages concerning three generations of the Cromberger family of Seville who ran an important printing house in that city in the first half of the 16th century. Jacobo Cromberger's son, Juan, made a contract with Juan Pablos, as a result of which the latter set up in Mexico City in 1539 the first printing establishment in America, from which came items bearing the name of the Casa Cromberger.

David Wagstaff has contributed an 18-line "Congratulatory Ode" to Dr. Rosenbach.

Donald G. Wing of the Yale University Library has written a biographical note on Sir Balthazar Gerbier, 17th-century "architect, miniature painter, town-planner, school-master, diplomat, traveller . . . and the author of thirty-five tracts in three languages." Mr. Wing provides a checklist (54 editions) of Gerbier's writings, recording copies owned in 27 libraries.

George Parker Winship has three interesting pages on the purchase from Quaritch of a Queen Elizabeth prayer book for the John Carter Brown Library, at the time of the Hoe sale in 1913. Quaritch bid on the Hoe copy but George D. Smith secured it at $2,600. Quaritch, however, had a better copy with him, which he sold to Mr. Winship for less.

Dr. Julian Wolff has written an introduction to, and compiled a catalogue of, Mr. Sherlock Holmes's library,—in the tradition of the St. Victor and Count de Fortsas libraries. The catalogue includes 66 items, 17 of which are by Mr. Holmes himself.

Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library,

in an article titled "Good Booksellers Make Good Librarians," recounts some of his purchases from Dr. Rosenbach of Americana for his Library. Some very interesting and important items came to Dr. Wroth's institution through Dr. Rosenbach.

Percy E. Lawler, head of the Philadelphia office of The Rosenbach Company, records the acquisition by Dr. Rosenbach of the libraries of a large number of collectors during the last thirty or forty years, and describes some of these collections and important items in them.

Edwin Wolf, 2d, Mr. Lawler's assistant, quotes from "An Incredible Manuscript" (being part of lot 333, "Manuscripts Miscellaneous," said to have been picked up at the Parke-Bernet Gallaries in 1944 for $12.50). The incredible item records doings in the club rooms "At the Sign of the Uncut Quarto," and the remarks and actions of Earl Spencer, the Duke of Roxburghe, the Marquis of Blandford, Moses Polock, Madame Pompadour, Horace Walpole, Cardinal Mazarin, Harry Widener, Louis Roederer, Jean Grolier (who was pleased that Americans had named a club after him), Matthias Corvinus, Sir Thomas Bodley and Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York. A. S. W. R. is the subject of much of the conversation. Apropos of Rosenbach's purchase of the York Minster Caxtons, Tobie moved an amendment to the club's constitution "that the name of Rosenbach be forbidden within the rooms, anterooms and chambers of this club."

John Fleming of The Rosenbach Company's New York office concludes the volume with his bibliography of the books, contributions, and articles written by A. S. W. Rosenbach—a total of 92 items. Had Mr. Fleming included Dr. Rosenbach's signed "Foreword" to the *Guide to Manuscript Depositories in New York City* (New York: WPA Historical Records Survey, 1941) the total would have been 93.

The book contains several plates (facsimiles), and the frontispiece reproduces an excellent photograph of Dr. Rosenbach. There is, however, no list of illustrations and there is no index. The books mentioned above in honor of Messrs. Eames and Keogh also lack indexes; but the Lydenberg volume has a good index. An index would have been a valuable addition to the Rosenbach volume; the work got into the "rush" category toward the end, however, on account of the editor's wish to meet an important deadline, viz. Dr. R.'s seventieth birthday, on July 22, 1946. Dr. Rosenbach was presented with a specially bound copy of the book on that date, and an index was perhaps one of the desiderata reluctantly thrown overboard in the interest of speed.

The book has been satisfactorily printed in Baskerville type on a suitable paper by The Banta Press, and is bound in red buckram lettered in gold on the spine. None of the five hundred copies which comprise the edition is for sale.

The Grolier Club GEORGE L. MCKAY

Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region 1790–1850. By David Maldwyn Ellis. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946. xiii + 347 pages, maps, biblio., index. $4.00.)

This study of the agricultural development of Eastern New York between 1790 and 1850 will furnish important source material for future writers on the agricultural and economic growth of America. Having worked much of the same ground, I know how hard Dr. Ellis dug and how well he winnowed the crop. His study adds much to our knowledge of New York's history, fills several gaps with a wealth of new information, points up forces of local origin that helped shape the broader pattern of national growth. But the very nature of the book—like so many of the regional studies that grow out of doctoral dissertations—restricts its usefulness. Written for the student, the rich material, dug from the dust of years, is frozen to the study. Here it will remain until it is thawed and warmed by imaginative writers who will give it the human quality necessary to make it fireside knowledge. With all his impressive new information on early agricultural, commercial, and industrial development, Dr. Ellis adds nothing to our understanding of the way the people lived and what they were like; we get inside the economic forces, but never the people who prospered or suffered with them. This is especially regrettable since the Hudson-Mohawk region is so rich in social history. It would have taken very little creative imagination to add the warmth of life to what is now a cold recitation of impersonal fact.

Dr. Ellis traces in detail the evolution of agriculture from the early settlements, when farming was a way of life instead of a means of profit, to the establishment of specialized farming and dairying geared to metropolitan markets. He makes it very clear that in the twenty-one counties—composing one third of the state—"virtually every phase of agricultural development between 1790 and 1850" was represented. He shows how the growth of highways, canals, railroads opened the Western wheat fields and ruined the husbandry of Eastern New York, a husbandry already well in decay from unscientific use of soil by tenant farmers. By 1850, wheat and other farm-product tonnage from the West moving down the Hudson Valley exceeded that originating within the State. Under the impact of this competition, the Eastern New York farmer was forced to shift from wheat to sheep-raising and finally to dairying and specialized crops. Dr. Ellis shows that the New York farmer who remained behind "faced a future fully as hazardous and unpredictable" as did the farmer who struck out for the West.

Rural New York is noted today for its conservatism, its opposition to political and social innovations. It was not always so. Until after the Civil War period, the New York farmer, restive and discontented, clamored for reform. Dr. Ellis traces the growth of this unrest. He finds its origin in the Colonial period, when a small class-conscious and closely knit

aristocracy acquired, often through the aid of corrupt officials, huge tracts of land which they held for speculation or leased on a semi-feudal basis. He follows the thread down to the antirent agitation that convulsed the State in the 1840's. He is one of the few historians to grasp the full political, economic, and social significance of antirentism. By dramatizing evils of land monopoly and land jobbing, and by identifying their cause with the general struggle for more democracy, the antirenters roused popular opposition not alone to the aristocratic clique which made New York the most conservative of States, but also to conservatives who sought to frustrate reform on a national basis. Although the antirenters maintained that they were merely concerned with wiping out for all time the last remnants of feudalism, antirentism was much more the forceful expression in constructive action of the cumulative resentment and fear of a people who had been denied democracy, and so faced a hazardous and insecure future. Well over a third of Dr. Ellis' book is devoted to antirentism and the forces that culminated in the riots of the 1840's, and throughout his account of the agricultural development from 1790 to 1850 one is conscious of the growing hatred of the tenants for the landlords.

It is not possible for me to discuss this book without taking account of important disagreements Dr. Ellis has with my study of antirentism. He is generous in his praise of *Tin Horns and Calico*, but he raises serious objections to some of my interpretations, especially my treatment of Silas Wright.

> . . . Historians [he says] will not readily recognize or accept his caricature of Governor Silas Wright. . . . He accuses the governor of hypocrisy, specious reasoning, interference with the judiciary. . . . Such criticism is unfair. Wright was conspicuous in his generation for integrity of character and devotion to liberal causes. The answer to his attitude on antirentism lies in his unbending determination to perform his duty. . . . The disorders of 1845 would have forced any governor to take drastic steps.

Dr. Ellis' position is consistent with the popular estimate of Wright. But liberalism and political integrity have meaning beyond party regularity. Wright's record as U. S. Senator must be examined for clues to motives in his later handling of antirentism. Against his support of Jackson's financial policy, one must balance other actions. Wright was hardly a devoted liberal when he voted to bar from the mails printed matter "calculated to excite the prejudice of . . . the Southern states in regard to slavery." On other occasions he voted against measures that would have eliminated slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories. He urged his neighbors in Canton, New York, to keep out of the slave controversy and not tolerate prejudices against the South "in consequence of their exercising their constitutional rights in holding slaves."

This was the kind of "liberalism" Wright brought to New York when

elected governor in 1844. The landlords were merely exercising "constitutional rights." During the 1844 campaign the Democratic party made clear its position on antirent: as one of Wright's principal policy advisors said, "the renters will work mischief; but don't let our people whore with them." Dr. Ellis overlooks a very important fact when he says "the disorders of 1845 would have forced any governor to take drastic steps." In January 1845, the antirenters petitioned Governor Wright for specific relief, but the Governor, vigorously condemning the violence to which the tenants had been forced in order to save their homes until they could have democratic recourse to the Legislature, declared he would do nothing until they abandoned illegal methods. Instead, he advocated legislation to make prosecution of antirenters easier. However, a year later, and despite the fact that 1845 had experienced the most violent outbreaks, Wright reversed himself, urged the Legislature to abolish distress for rent, prohibit long-term agricultural leases, and tax income from rents—all measures asked for by the tenants the previous year. The people might have been spared a year's strife and thousands of dollars had Wright taken as liberal—and as honest—a stand when he became governor on January 1, 1845. What caused the reversal? In November 1845 the antirenters demonstrated in their voting that they held the balance of political power in the State. They had eliminated the margin by which Wright had been elected. At once the Democratic Party became conciliatory, then friendly. Old enemies began to talk antirent. Wright revealed his own alarm in a letter to Martin Van Buren:

> John [*the former President's son and Wright's attorney general*] wishes me to ask you if you know any persons in your county, or in this district, sufficiently antirenter and of sufficient intelligence and discretion, to be safely employed to go into this county, Schoharie and Delaware, and visit the families and talk with the antirent democratic voters safely and with a promise of benefit.

In the 1846 gubernatorial campaign Wright's Whig opponent, John Young, publicly promised to free antirent prisoners. Wright refused to make a commitment and left the public in the dark about his behind-prison-walls talk with the antirenters. As the campaign neared its climax, Wright made a hurried trip to Clinton Prison.

> . . . Governor Wright [*wrote William Brisbane, one of the prisoners*] told us we were in a class very different from the mass of convicts, that he did not look upon us as felons but as political prisoners having risen in opposition to civil government. . . . He said among other things that he did not consider us most guilty, but all history proved that in all civil commotions the innocent generally suffered most. . . . He told us he deeply sympathized with us, and as soon as public opinion would justify him in liberating us, he would gladly do so.

Wright was willing to deal with antirenters, but he wanted it safely

beyond the reach of the public. This was hardly the act of a man of integrity. A year earlier Wright had damned the antirenters: "men who dare not show their faces as a sanction of their acts should hope for little from honest administration of law."

It is a matter of record that Wright removed Russell Dorr when Dorr issued an order calling upon the district attorney to appear in his court and show cause why Dr. Smith Boughton, Big Thunder of the antirent Indians, should not be released on bail pending trial. It is also a matter of record that Wright approved the transfer of his personal friend, Justice Edmonds, from New York City to Hudson to try Dr. Boughton, and after the trial commended him on his handling of the case, a trial which the best legal minds considered a miscarriage of justice. Edmonds not only heard the case, but stepped down from his "impartial" position to advise his friend John Van Buren on how it should be prosecuted.

I am not convinced that my characterization of Silas Wright is unfair. There is need for an honest critical study of Wright. Such a study, if I am not mistaken, will destroy much of the popular notion that he was a devoted liberal and a man of great political integrity. I am afraid too many historians, and in this group I place such an excellent craftsman as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., have accepted with political naïveté all supporters of Jackson as great liberals.

I do not wish to leave the reader of this review with the feeling that I minimize the solid contribution Dr. Ellis has made. I know that I shall use the book again and again and I envy him for unearthing material that I overlooked. Maps, charts, extensive footnotes, comprehensive bibliography and index add tremendously to the value of Dr. Ellis' work as source material for future study.

New York City HENRY CHRISTMAN

David Rittenhouse: Astronomer-Patriot 1732–1796. By EDWARD FORD. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946. viii + 226 pages, frontis., index. $2.50.)

David Rittenhouse, by J. Edward Ford, is the tenth volume in the series of "Pennsylvania Lives" published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. The book is subtitled "Astronomer-Patriot" quite appropriately, for the personal life of David Rittenhouse remains an almost complete mystery. Most of what is actually known about him is gained from his scientific publications and the record of his activities in the many public offices that he held. Surviving records are most obscure with regard to the early life of Rittenhouse from his birth in 1732 until his first public employment in connection with the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1763.

The Rittenhouse family in 1732 enjoyed a measure of local renown. The great-grandfather had built and operated the first paper mill in the

American colonies. The paper manufacturing business was prosperous enough to make it possible for David's father to move, in 1733, from the picturesque, but unhealthful, mill site on Wissahiskon creek to a farm on high ground some twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. There was little opportunity for formal education, but, as author Ford points out, the instruction available could very well have been of unusually high quality, particularly in mathematics and surveying.

At the age of twelve, Rittenhouse was the recipient of a bequest, from the uncle for whom he had been named, of a chest of carpenter's tools and many books and papers. Among the books was a copy of an English translation of the first book of Newton's *Principia*. With his father's financial aid in the form of materials and land, Rittenhouse built a small workshop so that he could properly use his wood-working tools, and by the end of 1749 the first of many clocks had been completed.

The demand for clocks by Rittenhouse became constant. In this way he was provided with a small, adequate income, and with the hiring of helpers, leisure to study. His studies were helped by Thomas Barton, a graduate of the University of Dublin. Books that Barton brought from England on one of his return trips, turned Rittenhouse toward astronomy and astronomical instruments, and he began plans for a planetarium.

Through Barton, Rittenhouse was introduced to Dr. William Smith, who, in 1767, as provost of the College of Philadelphia, conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts. This honor, bestowed by a group of men admired by Rittenhouse, helped to give him confidence in his own ability and to bring him to the attention of the scholarly world of the Colonies. Under the aegis of Dr. Smith, he succeeded to a series of increasingly more important positions in the political and scholarly life of the Colonies. The record of these years is correctly presented only in this biography.

Both in politics and in science, Rittenhouse was considerably to the left of center; that is, he was about a century in advance of commonly held ideas. That this is true, is shown more clearly by Mr. Ford for the political activity of Rittenhouse than for his scientific results.

Rittenhouse received most of the honors accorded to outstanding scientists. There is no need to list them here. We are made to feel that his friendships with the outstanding men of his day were as important to him as the honors he received. His association with Priestley should be especially mentioned.

The story of the latter half of the life of Rittenhouse is very well done indeed. We regret that we are told so little about Hannah Rittenhouse, who must have been a dominant influence, but we are glad to have a biography that is a plausible story of an eminent citizen and a scientific genius. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a bibliographical note and a good index.

McMath-Hulbert Observatory ORREN MOHLER

Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania. By FRANCES LICHTEN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. xiv + 276 pages, illus., 32 colorplates, index. $10.00.)

Here is an unusual book indeed. Ofttimes it is possible to say "this is a book for the layman" or "this is a book for the student," but rarely does one find such a neat balance as in this attractive book of Frances Lichten's. Anyone, whether he be layman, student, designer, or decorator, will find information aplenty in this latest addition to the bibliography of Pennsylvania German Folk Art.

Chief among its many virtues is its novel, yet systematic, organization. Each of the thirteen chapters deals with a different medium, yet follows a clear-cut arrangement. The text of each is written in lively fashion, giving the general historical background of the craft and its more obvious forms, followed by a selected group of illustrations with carefully and intelligently written captions which supply more detailed information. A random sampling of the chapter headings will demonstrate their attractiveness and the logic of the subject-matter organization throughout the book:

From the Earth itself: Clay into: Plates, roof-tiles, dishes . . .

From the Surface of the Earth: Flax into: Linens, samplers, towels . . .

From the Woodland: Wood into: Housing, trinket and candle boxes, dower and blanket chests . . .

From beneath the Surface of the Earth: Iron into: Stove plates, ornamental hardware, iron stands and trivets . . .

The Salvage Arts: Rags into Paper: Birth and baptismal certificates, songbooks, fractur painting

The generous assortment of illustrations which goes with each chapter is divided about equally between line-drawings by Miss Lichten and halftone reproductions of photographs. These contrasting types of illustrations, distributed in consistent balance throughout the book and often used in conjunction on the same page, enhance one another. The author's simplified line-drawings not only retain admirably the feeling of the original pieces in most cases, but also bring out intricate details in the design of pottery plates, chests, or birth certificates which would otherwise be overlooked even in the most perfect halftone engraving, due to the dark background of the pieces. The illustrations are of good size and are attractively placed on the pages.

Amplifying the well-written text, Miss Lichten's picture captions combine interesting details of historical background with additional factual information such as names of artists, inscriptions, or dates on the pieces, in order to round out the story. While some of these data are

compiled from published sources, much of it is new or appears in a new connotation. These captions are an important component of a splendid job of textual exposition.

For the convenience of the designer, the 32 colorplates are grouped together at the very end of the book where they can easily be found. These likewise have generous captions describing the nature, history, artist, size, and source of the design. Points of similarity and contrast between these colorplates and some of the black and white illustrations in the earlier chapters of the book are also frequently cited. Although in the opinion of the reviewer they are too intense in color, these plates do give some idea of the vigorous colors in which most of the Pennsylvania German motifs must have been executed originally.

In typography and design, as well as in quantity and quality of material, Miss Lichten's book outstrips everything which has been published on Pennsylvania German folk art to date. The ingenious manner in which the text, illustrations, and colorplates are worked into one homogeneous whole makes this volume an indispensable reference work for the layman, collector, designer, or decorator.

The New-York Historical Society DONALD A. SHELLEY

Men of Erie, A Story of Human Effort. By EDWARD HUNGERFORD. (New York: Random House, 1946. 346 pages, illus. $3.75.)

Men of Erie is a very felicitous title for a stirring account of the men who built and ruled the Erie Railroad. It begins with the men who had the idea but not the means, and continues with those who never had enough means but with infinite effort put the road through. The different administrations of the Erie are described down to the present. The last few chapters give a truly fascinating account of the operation of a modern railroad, and, for themselves alone, make the book worthwhile. Particularly interesting is a vivid account of the auctioning of fruits at the Erie freight pier in Manhattan.

It is proper that the top men should be featured. Too often they are taken for granted and a railroad or some other similar enterprise is pictured as growing like an organism. Benjamin Loder, who completed the road to Lake Erie with little profit to himself and at a sacrifice of health, is typical of the men who with tremendous application and untiring energy have developed the material resources of this country.

In fact both the good and bad fortunes of the Erie are shown to be due largely to the men who ruled the road. This railroad is properly described as having great natural advantages and as being the first of the trunk lines. Erie has had more than its share of financial disasters and its rulers were in large part responsible. Eleazar Lord started off with a different gauge than the other railroads and made other unfortunate

judgments thereby saddling a crushing load on the Erie in its early days. Then, after the Civil War, for a short but direful time, the company fell into the hands of the three buccaneers, Drew, Fisk, and Gould, who used the then magnificent road solely for their own illegal enrichment. One of the worst indictments of that sorry age in United States history is that none of these three rascals went to jail. It took many years for the railroad to recover from this experience. It would seem from the record that President Underwood during his long administration, while undoubtedly able, did not strengthen the Erie as much as he might have. In the depression of the nineteen-thirties the Erie succumbed to bankruptcy again but Mr. Hungerford feels certain that this time it has been firmly reconstructed. Nevertheless the success of the road will depend in the future as in the past on the men of Erie.

The only criticism is that there are minor confusions in regard to New York history. Samuel B. Ruggles is erroneously described as Comptroller of the State in 1835, and the Albany Regency is stated to have developed principally from a "canal ring." Mayor Kingsland of New York is unfortunately called Kingshand. These and other like inaccuracies, however, have no significant bearing on the Erie Railroad and this book will take its place along with Edward H. Mott's *The Story of Erie* as required reading for those who are interested in the grand old Erie.

Trinity College D. G. Brinton Thompson

Princeton, 1746–1896. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. 424 pages, illus., index. $3.75.)

Only too frequently do "official" histories fail to have life. Such happily is not the case with Professor Wertenbaker's account of Princeton's first 150 years. The author is too experienced an authority on Colonial America to be overcome by his current title of "Bicentennial Historian of the University." As one turns the pages of this volume, Princeton grows with the naturalness of evolution.

This evolutionary quality comes from the author's use of the personal histories of men to explain the growth of an institution; sincere, zealous, hard-working men who refused to be discouraged by the religious, political, economic and physical barriers which, from time to time, checked the progress of the college along the paths they had laid out for it.

Beginning with a clear and not too lengthy explanation of the religious ancestry and parentage of Princeton, the author proceeds from the prenatal period to the birth of the infant college at Elizabeth, under the guidance of Jonathan Dickinson. Beset by temporary growing pains, the College increases in stature. It recovers from the attacks on its charter, the Revolution and the financial chaos that followed, to become embroiled in the battle over the freeing of American education from the

control of the founding religious denominations. During this battle the College reaches what the author has so aptly described as "Princeton's Nadir." However, it is rescued from this plight by its alumni who, by then, were sufficiently numerous to begin the assistance which they have increasingly rendered to the College as the years have passed. The narrative continues on through the Civil War, the expansion under the great Dr. McCosh, to the final coming of age with the College's assumption of the title of University in 1896.

The author has recorded all this with a touch which is generally pleasing and lively. In addition to such conventional sources as official archives, account books, trustees' and faculty minutes, Professor Wertenbaker has made good and well-considered use of letters and undergraduate diaries and publications, so that the book is no mere report full of impersonal data.

Since some readers, alumni included, may not realize that Princeton did not become an university until 1896, it would perhaps have been as well had the title indicated more clearly than the dates do that the book was the story of the College of New Jersey. This is a minor criticism, as is that concerning the lack of dates in the chapter headings. It is possible that in this last instance the author was too conscious of a desire to keep away from the history textbook layout.

A third minor criticism—perhaps better described as a suggestion—is that the illustrations might have been more numerous and more interesting. That there are a quantity of good Princeton illustrations available is evident from V. Lansing Collins' *Princeton, Past and Present,* also published by the Princeton University Press.

The main criticism which can be made is that the last chapters, dealing primarily with the period of the Sesquicentennial Celebration, are too full of names and of collegiate politics. As the author says, the transition from college to university began many years prior to 1896 and ended many years after. But the conclusion of this history, limited to Princeton's first 150 years, forewarns in too much detail of the stormy times to come under the presidency of Wilson. Perhaps at this point the author is rather too close to the woods.

On the whole, however, Professor Wertenbaker has written a most readable story, dealing clearly with human and institutional entities, giving praise where it is due and making no attempt to brush over faults, whether they be those of trustees, professors, undergraduates, or even of architects.

Princeton, 1746–1896 may not be satisfactory to the "perpetual sophomores," but it should be of great interest to the vast majority of Princeton's devoted alumni, as well as to the non-Princetonian who is interested in the history of early American education.

Quakertown, Pennsylvania THEODORE DUCOING STARR, JR.
(*Princeton, 1929*)

Anna Zenger: Mother of Freedom. By KENT COOPER. (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Company, 1946. 328 pages + Author's Note and Historical Statement, pp. 329–345. $3.75.)

As one might surmise, this is a novel based on the events leading up to John Peter Zenger's imprisonment for libel and the consequent legal fight for the freedom of the press. The plot, laid among the meager facts extant, takes as its heroine the wife of the printer and, introducing her as the most beautiful young lady of the Colony, develops her into the leading inspiration for her husband's publication of *The New York Weekly Journal,* the moving spirit behind a desire for an uncensored press, and the writer of many of its unsigned articles hostile to Governor William Cosby and his agents.

According to Mr. Cooper, in his author's note following the story, since John Peter Zenger was an unimaginative and uneducated printer incapable of writing the articles, and since other leading men in the fight, such as William Smith, Lewis Morris, and James Alexander, being men of honesty and courage, would have acknowledged their authorship, had they been the authors, rather than allow Zenger to languish in prison in their stead for almost a year, there remained only Anna Zenger, his wife, who could have written them and who is known to have published the paper during her husband's incarceration.

Throughout the story and in the notes which follow, Mr. Cooper develops a strong, though not entirely convincing case for his heroine. Beginning on an early page, Anna Catherina, whose maiden name was Maulin [a fact substantiated by the Dutch Church Marriage Records], is credited by the author as having been born in New York City, the only child of a French mother and a Dutch father, Nicholas, who, being a retired exporter and a highly educated gentleman, served as a strong guiding influence during Anna's early formative years of learning. Mr. Cooper evidently does not know of the existence of a list of the "Palatines remaining in New York in 1710" (reproduced in the *Documentary History of the State of New York*, III, 340) in which appear the names of: "Anna Elizabeth Maulin, wid. 42, Anna Catherina 13, Anna Ursula 16, Catharina 12." Barring a coincidence, this would make Anna Zenger one of three children, a poor German girl, without a father and of the same stock as her husband—also a Palatine arriving here in 1710 with his widowed mother. It is hardly plausible to postulate two Anna Catherina Maulins of about the same age in a town of only 6,000 inhabitants; and, indeed, the Dutch Church Marriage Bans of August 24, 1722, list both her and John as "out of high Germany."

Assuming her, then, to be a Palatine immigrant, it becomes more difficult to see how she could have acquired the education and breadth of vision to equip her for the accomplishments with which Mr. Cooper credits her. When these facts concerning her origin and life are brought

to confront Mr. Cooper's claim of Anna Zenger's authorship, the proof of which rests on a rather dubious process of elimination, his convictions stand on less firm ground.

Concerning the trial and the main political events leading to it, Kent Cooper's story appears, with few minor exceptions, to coincide with fact. In passing, it may prove interesting to note that both Mr. Cooper and Livingston Rutherford, in his biography *John Peter Zenger*, stumble into the same error when they assert that legal provisions for censorship of the press began and ended with the governorship of the Earl of Bellomont. The clause prohibiting the printing of anything without the Governor's approval can be traced through the instructions of all the governors of New York from 1686 up to 1732 when William Cosby came into power. It would be interesting to ascertain why the censorship provision was dropped at this time and why it does not appear in any subsequent royal instructions either in New York or any other English colony.

As a writer of historical fiction, Kent Cooper does not rate among America's best authors. In his treatment of *Anna Zenger* he fails to make the characters appear at home in their environment. They are plainly 20th-century people expressing themselves in 20th-century language, thoughts, and actions. Surely the picture of children with autograph albums for Zenger to sign after his acquittal is not characteristic of the time. The flavor could be improved by including here and there a touch of the early 18th century through the use of contemporary colloquialisms and expressions.

The average reader will not, however, find these discrepancies objectionable. Although writing a fictionalized biography, Mr. Cooper has gone to considerable lengths to indicate and quote those items actually taken from the pages of history. His descriptions of the trial and of the suave Andrew Hamilton, Zenger's attorney, are especially vivid. It is undoubtedly a very pleasant and painless way to follow John Peter Zenger's fight for the freedom of the press.

The New-York Historical Society ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

THE spring season of 1947 proved to be an unusually active one, particularly during April and early May when special events reached their peak.

As announced in the January *Quarterly*, Dr. Claude E. Heaton gave an entertaining illustrated talk on "Doctors and Patients of Old New York" for members and their guests on the evening of April 1st. The same day saw the opening, in conjunction with Amateur Press Month, of an exhibition of amateur periodicals from the Society's rapidly growing collection.

April 11th witnessed a reception and tea in honor of Mr. Edward Tempest, good-will ambassador from York, England. An account of Mr. Tempest's visit may be found elsewhere in this issue.

On April 19th, another of the Society's high-school history programs was held in the auditorium and galleries. An illustrated talk by Mr. Wall on "Men and Ships of the American Navy" was combined with a tour of the Naval History exhibits and the showing of Kenneth Roberts' film, "Captain Caution." This was followed on May 3rd by a high-school program devoted to "Life in Colonial America."

May 6th marked the 250th anniversary of the granting of the original charter to Trinity Church by William III. Members of Trinity Parish and The New-York Historical Society attended a reception and a private showing, held that evening, of a special exhibition featuring historic treasures of the Parish and supplementary material from the Society's collections. Over 500 guests were received by the Reverend Dr. Frederic S. Fleming, Rector of Trinity Church, and Mrs. Fleming; Judge Philip J. McCook, vestryman, and Mrs. John McCook; Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, First Vice President of The New-York Historical Society, and Mrs. Kimball; and Mr. R. W. G. Vail, Director of the Society. Refreshments were served in the Reading Room, adjacent to the display in Dexter Hall. The exhibition was opened to the public on the following day to remain on view through July 13th.

A further exhibition, marking the tercentenary of Peter Stuyvesant's arrival in New Amsterdam, was opened to the public on May 11th. More than fifty descendants of the Dutch Director-General were invited to the private showing and tea held the preceding day.

The Sunday programs of organ music with Harold F. Nutzhorn at the console were suspended for the season on May 25th. Begun last October 13th, these well-attended recitals have been heard in the second and fourth floor galleries, as well as in the auditorium, for the added enjoyment of our Sunday visitors. The programs will be resumed in the fall.

The annual Strawberry Festival was held on June 9th. The auditorium

was filled to capacity for the program of American folk songs by Mr. Richard Dyer-Bennet, and a recent accessions exhibition opened on the same afternoon.

During April, May, and June our facilities were used by numerous visiting organizations. These included several art classes from Pratt Institute and the College of the City of New York; the League of Women Voters on April 15th and 22nd; the Know Your City Club on April 15th; the Women's Club of Douglaston on April 16th; the Hudson Valley Survey Committee on April 25th, and the Washington Heights Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, whose program on the same day included a talk by Mr. Wall. Also represented were the High School Clerical Assistants Association on May 8th; the New York Library Club with its meeting and informal tea on the afternoon of May 21st, and the School Art League, which sponsored programs in the auditorium on April 26th, May 10th, and May 17th. On June 25th, the League held its annual meeting and presentation of scholarships and medals here. Mr. Vail welcomed the groups on behalf of the Society.

The travelling school exhibition was installed on April 24th at Lafayette High School, where it remained until May 20th. It was then returned to the Society for the summer recess.

An exhibit featuring The New-York Historical Society and its collection of John Rogers groups was shown from April 14th through May 9th in the display window of the International Business Machine Company's headquarters on Madison Avenue at 57th Street. The Society lent several of its bronze groups for this display.

Miss Barck officiated as chairman of the Librarians' Section of the American Association of Museums convention at Quebec on May 30th. She has also been elected chairman of the Museum Group, New York Chapter, Special Libraries Association. Mr. Carlson has been re-elected secretary of the Map and Geography Group.

Mr. Shelley was the guest lecturer, on April 26th, at the opening of a special exhibition of American paintings held in the Town Hall at Clinton, Connecticut. The exhibition, sponsored by the Clinton Historical Society, was composed of portraits, landscapes, and genre scenes loaned from local homes. Mr. Shelley illustrated his lecture with colored lantern slides of outstanding paintings in our Society's collection. On May 22nd, Mr. Shelley was elected treasurer of The Athenaeum, an association of art historians connected with the art museums and universities in the Greater New York area.

Mr. H. Maxson Holloway, Curator of Decorative Arts, resigned to become director of the Saginaw (Mich.) Museum, and Miss Carolyn Scoon will be Acting Curator until the arrival next September of the newly appointed Curator of Decorative Arts, Mr. Richard J. Koke, now in the National Park Service. Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Jr., has been appointed to the newly created position of Assistant Director.

The New-York Historical Society was the subject of the half-hour radio broadcast, "Know Your City," presented over Station WNYC on May 16th under the auspices of the Board of Education and the City History Club. Mr. Wall was a guest speaker on a quiz program in which children of the New York public schools participated, the questions being based upon the exhibits and collections of the Society. The Society was also represented by Mr. Wall on the May 3rd radio broadcast over Station WOR inaugurating William Burns's weekly program "While Burns Roams" which appears each Saturday at noon. The subject of the broadcast was "The Purchase of Manhattan."

The building was closed during the Memorial Day week-end, May 30 and 31, and will also be closed on July 4th and 5th, and during the month of August, to re-open on Tuesday, September 2nd, for the fall season.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

THREE costumes, *c.* 1870, and accessories. *Gift of the Misses Irene M. and Emily L. Braman.*

Daguerreotype on glass of William R. Miller, the artist, with his infant son, William Furber Miller, and a tintype of Mrs. William R. Miller (Ann Maria Furber). *Gift of Mrs. Arthur M. Carlock (Grace Miller), granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. William R. Miller.*

Dutch Bible, printed in Amsterdam in 1718, containing manuscript records of the Vanderbilt family. *Gift of Dr. Dudley M. Carpenter.*

Plaster statuette of a female figure representing *Painting and Sculpture* by Daniel Chester French, 1900, from the left side of the Richard Morris Hunt monument on Fifth Ave. near 72nd St. *Gift of Mrs. William Penn Cresson, daughter of the sculptor.*

Cut-glass cologne bottle, in original velvet case, which belonged to Mrs. William Wetmore Cryder, mother of the donor. *Gift of Mr. Henry Chauncey Cryder.*

Model of the *Santa Maria* made at the Webb Institute of Naval Architecture. *Gift of Major Norman F. Cushman.*

Petition to the Governor and Legislature of Georgia, December 1, 1840, requesting Georgia documents; signed by Peter A. Jay, President of The New-York Historical Society, and accompanied by a covering letter from President Jay. *Gift of Mr. T. Cruger Cuyler.*

Manuscript accounts of two suits tried in the Mayor's Court, New York City, 1714 and 1755. *Gift of Brigadier General John Ross Delafield.*

Eight business diaries of law cases, 1858–1905, of Lewis Livingston Delafield (1834–1883) and his son, Lewis Livingston Delafield (1863–1944) of New York, grandfather and father of the donor, together with

papers, in approximately 400 filing boxes, relating to their legal business and that of the firms of Hawkins and Delafield, and Delafield and Gould, of New York City. *Gift of Mr. Lewis Livingston Delafield, Jr.*

Album containing *carte-de-visite* photographs of twelve non-commissioned officers and privates of the 6th Company, 7th Regiment, National Guard, State of New York, after they were mustered into the service of the United States in Baltimore, May 25, 1862. *Gift of Mr. Albert Gallatin.*

Wood carving of The Declaration of Independence by an unidentified artist after the painting by Trumbull. *Gift of Mrs. M. H. Greenebaum.*

Correspondence and other material, 1858–1897, belonging to Thomas H. Morrell, prominent New York bookseller. *Gift of Mr. Lathrop C. Harper.*

Two blue and white woven coverlets in double chariot wheels pattern. *Gift of Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer.*

History of the National Amateur Press Association, by John Travis Nixon, 1900; *Ex-Presidents of the National Amateur Press Association,* by William Ahlhauser, 1919, with 14 volumes and 164 issues, 1895–1922, of amateur periodicals. *Gift of Mr. Charles W. Heins.*

Oil portrait of the donor by William S. Mount, silhouette portraits of Richard Van Buren and Mrs. Richard Van Buren (Maria Fowler) by an unidentified artist, and a lithograph, colored, by Endicott of *Van Tassel's House* [afterwards "Sunnyside," at Irvington-on-Hudson], *recently purchased* [1835] *by Washington Irving, Esq. Bequest of Miss Anne C. Hood.*

Map of Livingston Manor, 1714, printed in Albany *c.* 1850; Wade & Croome's *Panorama of the Hudson River from New York to Waterford,* 1847, framed in four sections, and a map of the towns of Livingston, Germantown, and Clermont, New York, compiled by John Wigram, 1798, copied by David Vaughan, and printed in Albany, 1850. *Gift of Miss Virginia Livingston Hunt in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hunt of Tivoli, Dutchess County, New York.*

Bronze statuettes of the *Bronco Buster* by Frederic Remington (1861–1909) and the *Bacchante* by Frederick MacMonnies, dated 1894; original watercolor by Edward Penfield of the New York-Lakewood coach; *La Voiture à Travers les Ages,* 19 watercolors by L. Vallet; lithograph of the yacht *America;* 5 colored sketches of carriages from Brewster's on Broome St., New York City, and 7 photographs of coaches, yachts, and other subjects of historical interest. *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Watercolor painting of *The New Grand Central* by Ernest Albert. *Gift of Mr. Arthur A. Jones.*

Seventy-six portraits in oil, watercolor, or crayon of prominent contemporary Americans, sketched from life by the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Enit Kaufman.*

Oil portrait of the Abeel children by an unidentified artist, depicting

from left to right John Howard Abeel (b. 1846), Alfred Abeel (b. 1844), Sarah Louise Abeel (b. 1843), and Catherine Emeline Abeel (b. 1841). *Gift of Mrs. Augustus Fleming King and Miss Marjorie Comstock Lyon.*

Deed, dated 1784, from Marinus Willett, High Sheriff of the City and County of New York, for a house and lot on the south side of Wall Street. *Gift of Mrs. F. L. Merritt.*

Flag with portrait of Henry Clay in the canton, probably made during his 1844 Presidential campaign. *Gift of Mr. Harry Shaw Newman.*

Eight-piece set of painted doll's furniture, *c.* 1870. *Gift of Mrs. Marie P. C. Redd in memory of her mother, Mme. Hermance Castegnier.*

Sixteen manuscripts relating to Alexander Hamilton and his estate, of which Nathaniel Pendleton, great-great-grandfather of the donor, was executor; 12 bills and 3 letters addressed to Nathaniel Pendleton and 9 manuscripts relating to other members of the Pendleton family; 4 letters and 3 bills, 1802–1804, addressed to John Bard, Jr., son of Dr. John Bard, and a list of furniture bought by him, 1796–1802; 7 New York and Georgia broadsides, and 7 issues of New York City newspapers, 1794–1804. *Gift of Mr. B. Pendleton Rogers.*

The American Harmonicum, or New York Musical Mirror, 1835; 8 leaflets of music for Brooklyn Sunday School Union anniversaries, 1866–1883; 7 musical periodicals of the 1870's, and a collection of sheet music. *Gift of Mr. Morgan H. Seacord.*

First editions of the first four volumes of *The Medical Repository*, 1797–1801. *Gift of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.*

Manuscript map made by Samuel Willis, April 4 and 5, 1753, of the lands of Joseph and Simon Cooper on Cove Neck, Oyster Bay, Long Island, with deed of partition, dated April 16, 1753, from Simon Cooper to his brother Joseph for the northeasterly part; also a group of 50 New York property maps. *Gift of Mr. Arthur Sutherland.*

Photographs of members of the von Drehle family and the von Drehle homestead in West Hoboken (now Union City), New Jersey, together with manuscripts and other material relating to the Loss and von Drehle families. *Gift of Mr. Henry Fedor von Drehle.*

Manuscript account by the Chevalier de Meyronnet de Saint Marc, with translation, of the Siege of Savannah in September, 1779, by the French forces under Count d'Estaing. *Gift of Mr. Forsyth Wickes.*

Collection of amateur periodicals and *The History of Amateur Journalism*, by Truman Joseph Spencer, one of 6 copies prepared by The Fossils, Inc., 1047. *Gift of Mr. Louis Charles Wills.*

Oil paintings of the Lent-Rapalje house, Bowery Bay, by William R. Miller, 1877, and the schooner *Lewis R. Mackey* by James Bard, 1854; letter from Gerard G. Beekman, dated New-York, January 25, 1762, to Christopher Champlin of Rhode Island concerning insurance on the brig *Wind Mill* and her cargo, and color plates of 6 paintings by Frederic Remington and 8 by Charles M. Russell. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET

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